

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY
STUDIES IN ARCHAEOLOGY

No. 2

EDITED BY DAVID M. ROBINSON

THE HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION
OF ANCIENT MEGARA

PART ONE

BY

E. L. Highbarger, Ph. D.

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICAL LANGUAGES, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

BALTIMORE
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TO THE MEMORY OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON FURREY
TEACHER AND FRIEND

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PREFACE

Most of the chapters of the present study were originally offered as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the doctorate in the Johns Hopkins University. The addition of other chapters brings the history down to the end of Hellenistic times, and together they form a kind of unity in themselves; for without the material contained in chapters I-IV, much that is found in the later ones could not have been written. Hence the propriety of publishing the material at hand as Part One.

The material for Part Two has been very largely collected and will be published in the near future. Some of these chapters are already written. This second part will complete the history, will contain additional chapters dealing with Megarian civilization and character, and will include a *Prosopographia Megarensis* and complete indices. Certain topics that are only briefly discussed in Part One will be more fully treated in Part Two, where such detailed treatment properly belongs.

The writer wishes to acknowledge his special obligations to Professor David M. Robinson, the Editor of this series of Studies. It was at Professor Robinson's suggestion that the study was originally undertaken, and his friendly interest and scholarly guidance and criticism have been at all times most valuable. Acknowledgment is also due him for the use of the photographs that appear in the following chapters. The monograph owes much to his many suggestions and his thorough criticism of manuscript and proof.

INTRODUCTION

In the year 1825 Hermann Reinganum published two monographs, the one entitled, *Das alte Megaris. Ein Beitrag zur Alterthumskunde Griechenlands*; and the other, *De Indole atque Ingenio Megarensium*. Two years later he published a third study on Selinus, a Megarian colony in Sicily. These studies apparently gave impetus to a peculiar interest in the ancient Megarians, and were followed from time to time by other treatises dealing with some special phase of the history or civilization of that people. The writings of Vogt, Girard, Cauer, Seeliger, Pfister and Thamm deserve special mention in this connection.

Reinganum's pioneer work was based upon statements of the ancient writers and the reports of modern travellers and geographers. Since his time, however, the systematic study of inscriptions, topography and art has opened up a new field of investigation and this, along with excavation, has given us much additional information concerning the Megarians and their neighbors. Consequently, some of Reinganum's conclusions as well as those of his successors need to be supplemented and occasionally revised. Unfortunately, however, excavation in Megara has been very limited for the evident reason that the modern city covers much of the ancient site, hence many questions of topography are still unsettled. Furthermore, the city has suffered a hard fate at the hands of successive invaders when many of its monuments were almost totally destroyed, leaving little trace of their location. Add to this the perishable character of the native building material and the modern custom of using it, sometimes far removed from its original location, for the construction of modern houses.

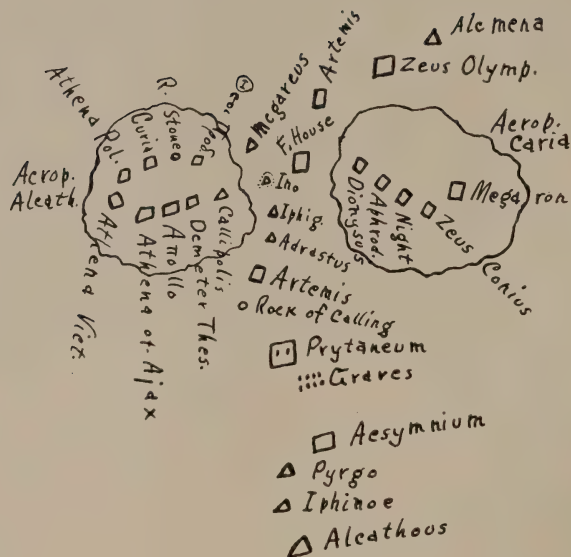
The Megarians were a people whose importance is great enough to deserve careful study. Living on the isthmus that

joined the two great divisions of Greece, they were located at the very cross-roads of influence in the most literal meaning of that term. Their early ancestors appear to have come from the Aegean or the regions beyond, and probably some of them had seen service in the fleet of Minos of Crete. They were no doubt related to the early Athenians, but later, when the Dorian invasion swept over the isthmus, this early population was subjected to the newcomers who thereupon established a Dorian state. But many of the characteristics of the original stock lingered on, and often the hostility between conqueror and conquered broke out in the form of stubborn revolt.

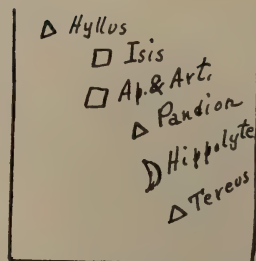
It is the Megarians who became the early rivals of Athens for the supremacy of the sea. They conquered Salamis and for a long period held it in spite of Athenian efforts to capture it. They were the first Greeks of the mainland to send colonies to the region of the Black Sea, where they founded Byzantium, a city destined by its location to become one of the most famous of all times; and in spite of the rivalry and designs of Corinth they were able to preserve their boundaries intact on the west and even to plant colonies in Sicily. During the Persian War they served the Greek cause faithfully. With the loss of Salamis, however, Megara's power began to wane. Finally, after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War the surrounding country was harassed and invaded many times. Thus Megara's geographical position in the end meant her downfall and ruin. From now on she gradually declined until in Roman times she preserved only the memory of her former glory and was chiefly famous as a resort for tourists, as we learn from Cicero, Vergil and Pausanias. The Roman poets, particularly those of the Augustan age, make frequent mention of her early history and her famous mythical kings.

Compared with many of the Peloponnesian states, Megara was mild in the degree of her Dorism. Stimulated no doubt by her proximity to Athens, she cultivated art, literature, and philosophy as the names of Theocosmus, Theognis, and Euclides well testify. She made a strong bid for the birth place of the Old Comedy. In the building of aqueducts, she was

without a superior in the Greek world. But as a further consequence of her proximity to Athens she suffered in reputation at the hands of the latter as did the Boeotians on the north. Yet, in spite of many vicissitudes of fortune her history has been a continuous one from Cretan times to the present, and is of no little consequence in the general history of the Mediterranean basin.



↑
To Rhus



The District of Rhus

MEGARA
and
NISAEA

showing
the probable location
of the monuments.

PLATE I.—MEGARA AND NISAEA SHOWING THE PROBABLE LOCATION OF THE MONUMENTS.

THE HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION OF ANCIENT MEGARA

CHAPTER I

TOPOGRAPHY AND MONUMENTS

The isthmus that constituted the country of Megaris is a rocky neck of land about 17 km. wide and 30 km. long.¹ Its general direction is east by northeast and west by northwest. To the northeast lay Mt. Cithaeron, which separated it from Boeotia, and to the east was Mt. Cerata whose eastern slope together with the little stream Iapis formed the boundary-line between Megaris and Attica. Corinthia joined it on the southwest. Its north shores were washed by the Corinthian Sea while on the south the Saronic Gulf joined it to the Aegean.² Megaris was thus one of the smallest of the Greek

¹ The area is given as 470 qkm. by Lolling (*Geographie u. Polit. Gesch. des Klass. Alt.* p. 121, Müller's *Handbuch*) and J. Beloch (*Klio*, VI, 1906, p. 55); 143 sq. mi. by Clinton (*Fasti Hellenici*, p. 395). The entire isthmus is 40 km. long and varies in breadth from 6 km. on the Corinthian side to 26 km., the maximum breadth. See Philippson, *Der Peloponnes*, p. 15. In the present study the term Isthmus is used in the general geographical sense, synonymous, therefore, with Megaris. In its more restricted senses "the Isthmus" (ὁ Ἴσθμός) referred to the territory which formed a part of Corinthia.

² The name Σαρωνικὸς κόλπος was applied to the entire body of water between the two promontories, Sunium in Attica and Scylaeum in Argolis, while a part of the bay between Megaris and Salamis was frequently called Σαλαμινιακὸς κόλπος or Megaricus sinus (Pliny, *N. H.* IV, 12, 19). So on the north, the general name covering the whole stretch of water from the shore of the isthmus to the narrows between Achaea and Aetolia was Κορινθιακὸς κόλπος (Strabo, IX, 409), while the eastern part of the bay was often called Κρισαῖος κόλπος (Strabo, *ibid.*). Cf. Reinganum, *Das alte Megaris*, p. 7, and Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, I, p. 366, n. 4. On Cerata and Iapis, cf. Miss Chandler, *J. H. S.* XLVI, 1926, p. 12,

states³ and its mountainous character made travel rather difficult and the gaining of a livelihood no easy matter. Mt. Gerania extended throughout its entire length forming a watershed whose direction was west-northwest by east-southeast.⁴

The formation of the greater part of the isthmus is the work of the ice-sheet of the early tertiary period.⁵ The deposits are largely of fresh-water lime and sandy marl. The

who thinks that the district called *ὄργας*, the sacred plain that was left untilled by Athens and Megara (Plutarch, *Per.* 30, 2; cf. Thucydides, I, 139, 2) was the small stretch of land between the torrent Iapis and Mt. Cerata. This neutral ground is famous in connection with the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War and as the scene of a bloody battle between the Megarians and Athenians in 409 B. C. after the former had retaken Nisaea (Diod. XIII, 65). Cf. below, Chs. XII, XIII.

³ Doris was the smallest and Megaris the second smallest of the states of central and northern Greece (Lolling, *op. cit.* p. 121). Cf. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griech.-röm. Welt*, p. 161. Reinganum (*op. cit.* p. 7) calls the latter the smallest.

⁴ I can find little warrant either in the ancient sources or the modern authorities for Reinganum's division of the mountainous districts into two systems—Gerania on the north and Onia on the south. In mentioning Megaris Thucydides (I, 105, 3; 107, 108, 2; IV, 70, 1) speaks of Gerania only. So likewise Pausanias (I, 40, 1; 43, 8). It is true that Strabo (IX, 393) calls the mountainous chain extending from the Scironian rocks to Boeotia and Mt. Cithaeron "Onia," and describes it as *ράχis τις*. But he had probably never visited Megara. See note 20 below. Plutarch likewise (*Cleom.* 20) distinguishes these two systems. Similarly Polybius (II, 52, *τῶν Ὀνείων καλουμένων ὄργων*), although the context here shows that the name may be intended to apply only to the western slope of Mt. Gerania. One peak near Cenchreae, the eastern harbor of Corinth, was called Mt. Onium (Thuc. IV, 44; Xen. *Hell.* VI, 5, 51; VII, 1, 41), and the latter name may likewise have been extended to the western slope of Gerania. Cf. Reinganum, *op. cit.* pp. 13 ff.; Curtius, *op. cit.* I, 7 ff.; Philippson, *op. cit.* pp. 28 f., 31-34; Philippson-Bölte in Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v. Gerania* 1.

⁵ For the geology of Megaris see especially Philippson, *op. cit.* pp. 15-28. Bursian, *op. cit.* I, pp. 366-384, and Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, I and II, *passim*, also have useful statements.

calcareous formation extends as much as 500 metres above sea-level. The watershed previously mentioned is made by the edge of a level plateau which divides two very different slopes. The slope on the west is short and is separated into a labyrinthine system of steep, winding glens deeply eroded which the ice-sheet broke up into the form of small ribs. These extend from the edge of the plateau to the sea and cañon-like show on their sides layer upon layer of brightly colored beds of marl which altogether may reach a depth of 300 metres. The top layer of marl has a deep red color and in some places extends to a depth of 100 metres. This entire district of gorges is very inaccessible and untillable. The brightly colored beds of marl are cold and bare. Only here and there can be seen a small, scrubby pine tree. The region is entirely uninhabited.

The eastern slope is quite different. In its southern portion it, too, extended to the sea where it fell precipitously; but farther north it ran gradually without dissections from the divide down to a level alluvial plain in which the city of Megara was located. A ravine extending from the divide west of Megara and falling into the plain shows on its sides marl, limy marl and sandy marl alternating with conglomerate and poros. There are also layers of lignite. The latter contain a rich fauna of fresh-water and salt-water shell-fish, which shows that the deposits come from what was once an inland sea of the late Pliocene age.⁶ This sea was formed by the overflowing of the larger body of water nearby. There are likewise Neogene deposits which belong to the similar and contemporaneous formations found over so large a part of the Orient. On the slope of the mountain west of Megara is a bed of red clay which apparently furnished the material for Megara's pottery industry in antiquity. Rising

⁶ The local Megarian tradition of the flood of Deucalion (Paus. I, 40, 1; Dieuchidas, Müller, *F. H. G.* IV, p. 388) may be a reminiscence of the original condition of the country when the Megarian plain was submerged beneath the sea. Cf. Lolling, *Ath. Mitt.* V, 1880, p. 8. See further, Chapter III of this study.

gradually from the plain about Megara on the east was Mt. Cerata. On the north it meets the southern spur of Mt. Cithaeron while its eastern slope forms the boundary-line between Megaris and Attica, as we have noted previously.

Although Megaris was prevailingly elevated its surface was not high enough for many of the elevations to be called mountains in the strictest sense of that term.⁷ The highest point of Mt. Gerania (modern Makriplagi) was 1372 metres above sea-level while the two hills on which Megara was located were less than 300 metres in height.⁸

Alternating with the elevated sections were a number of alluvial plains most of which were very small. By far the largest and most important was the one in which Megara, the principal city, was located. It lay between Mt. Gerania on the west and Mt. Cerata on the east and northeast and extended to the coast on the south.⁹ Its soil today is composed of rich loam beneath which the water lies very shallow giving to it extraordinary fertility. It is perforated with springs, which furnish the drinking water, and covered with fields of grain separated by rows of olive trees. On the south coast west of the road leading over the Scironian Rocks were several small plains lying side by side between the feet of the mountain spurs and the coast. While in ancient times they

⁷ Cf. Reinganum, *op. cit.* pp. 5 f. Makriplagi is ὄρος . . . Αἰγίπλαγκτον of the Agamemnon, 303, which relayed the signal of Troy's capture.

⁸ See Philippson, *op. cit.* pp. 18-28 for a detailed treatment of Mt. Gerania. Frazer (on Paus. I, 44, 3, in *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, II, p. 540) gives the elevation of the acropolis Caria as 886 feet, and of the acropolis Alcathoa as 951 feet.

⁹ Cf. Argos, Athens, Eleusis. It was about seven or eight miles square. Lolling, *Geogr. u. Pol. Gesch.* p. 121, says that it is 15 km. wide. The position of the plain is well shown by Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*,⁴ opposite page 41. Philippson (*op. cit.* p. 18) speaks of this section as two plains: a southern, which is long and narrow and very rocky, extending between the rocky southern coast and a chain of hills on the north; and a northern, which extends north and east from Megara. The latter is exceedingly fertile and is the plain *par excellence*.

were the centers of important activities today they are for the most part but desert wastes.

The streams, as elsewhere in Greece, were mere mountain torrents and for the greater part of the year were entirely dry.¹⁰ But enough rich soil was deposited at their mouths during the rainy season to make small fertile patches where the natives could raise some scanty crops. The indentations of the coast line afforded several good harbors. This was especially true on the north where Pagae and Aegosthena were located in most desirable positions. On the south was Nisaea, the famous harbor town, which carried on Megara's chief commercial activity.

From the above brief sketch it will be seen that the surface of Megaris was similar to that of Attica, although more barren and more rocky.¹¹ In fact, in early times it was considered a part of Attica, as we shall see later. But while the Megarians were denied the pursuit of agriculture to any great extent, turning their attention rather to manufacture, commerce and trade as their leading industries, they did carry on within the narrow confines of their tillable areas rather extensive operations that show unusual thriftiness and energy.

¹⁰ Cf. Gräber, *Ath. Mitt.* XXX, 1905, p. 59. For Greek streams in general see Zimmern, *op. cit.* pp. 39-42.

¹¹ Isocrates (*De Pace*, 117) says that the Megarians tilled mere stones (*πέτρας γεωργούντες*). The entire passage is highly rhetorical but important for the topography of Megaris. Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* II, 8. 1), speaks of one section of Megaris as thin (*λεπτόγαιον*). Much of the soil is clayey, as we saw in the geological survey, and chalky, according to modern travellers (Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour Through Greece*, I, p. 176). Stephanus of Byzantium (*s. v. Μέγαρα*) thinks that the city Megara may have been given its name διὰ τὸ τραχὺ τῆς χώρας. Strabo (IX, 393) compares it with Attica and calls it *παράλυρος*, and in another passage (VIII, 333) he suggests that this is probably the reason why Megaris, like Attica and Doris, retained its own customs and freedom. Cf. also Girard, *De Megarensium Ingenio*, p. 41. But in what sense could Isocrates (*l. c.*) say that it was without harbors? According to Girard (*op. cit.* p. 65) he probably meant that in his day it had no foreign points of trade. Cf. below, Ch. XIV.

That Megaris was more fruitful in ancient times is only natural as the exhaustion of its limited soil would take place very rapidly.¹²

Certain stretches along the south coast seem to have been boggy. This is particularly true in the neighborhood of Nisaea and Minoa where inundations of the sea were probably very common.¹³ Exportation of salt was an important industry, and it is on the coast of Nisaea, we are informed,¹⁴ that much salt was collected, which implies a swampy district. There are some indications also that the climate of Megaris was not very healthful. This condition may well be accounted for by the marshy areas.¹⁵ While it would be unwise to argue too much from present conditions, it is interesting to note that the anaemia of the modern Megarians has not escaped the attention of travellers. Dodwell¹⁶ says:

¹² Cf. Reinganum, *op. cit.* p. 9. After the loss of Salamis in the sixth century B. C. it declined rapidly. Modern Megara cultivates the grape and raises wheat, rye and barley (F. G. and A. C. E. Allinson, *Greek Lands and Letters*, p. 195). The fig is also still a staple product.

¹³ This subject is discussed more fully below in connection with the topography of Nisaea and Minoa. For the location of the marshes see Casson's plain, *B. S. A.* XIX, 1912-13, p. 71; the climatic map of Zimmern, *op. cit.* facing p. 41; and Frazer's *Pausanias*, II, p. 540. Marsh land also existed along the southwestern coast (see above p. 4) and in the neighborhood of Aegosthena (Bursian, *op. cit.* I, p. 381).

¹⁴ Schol. on Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 760. According to some geologists the Mediterranean was once a chain of salt lakes. The salt-district about Nisaea was no doubt a salt-pan of the kind commonly found in the Mediterranean. See Zimmern, *op. cit.* pp. 24 f.

¹⁵ See the little volume on *Malaria* (1907) by Jones, Ross, and Elliott, in this connection. It is interesting to note that the Megarian poet Theognis (173-4) links malaria (*ήπιαλος*) and old age together as second only to poverty in their destructive power. (Cf. Jones, Ross, and Elliott, *op. cit.* p. 24 and Hudson-Williams on Theognis, *l. c.*). We are told that Vergil contracted a fever or some disorder in Megara and died from the effects of it. Perhaps there may be something different from local patriotism to be seen in the numerous references to those who "died in Megara."

¹⁶ Dodwell, *Tour Through Greece*, 1801-6, II, p. 177.

"Megara is a miserable town. . . . The soil is generally sterile and the climate insalubrious." Frazer¹⁷ likewise notes the sickly appearance of the inhabitants of the southwestern coast near the Corinthian border.

The geographical location of this little country is significant. By sea it had access to the north and south, and as a landlink it joined northern Greece to the Peloponnesus. It thus served both as a military road and a commercial route between these two divisions of Greece; and although the rugged character of the country made travel extremely difficult, nevertheless several important roads led through it.¹⁸ One ran along the north coast extending from Pagae to Aegosthena, and thence to Plataea and Thebes. This was a rocky, uneven path. Another, the Scironian Way, following the south coast led from Corinth to Megara and thence to Eleusis and Athens. A third wound its way through the depression in the mountainous district of the central part of the country and connected Megara with Pagae. Still another ran north from Megara to Plataea. This was a narrow, somewhat precipitous path, but its track is still preferred by those going from Megara to Boeotia.¹⁹

Our leading ancient authority on the topography of Megara and the surrounding territory is of course Pausanias, and it will be found most convenient to follow his order of description.²⁰ He entered from the east immediately after his

¹⁷ Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, p. 552.

¹⁸ See Reinganum's map, *op. cit.* facing p. 184, and cf. Zimmern, *op. cit.* facing p. 41; Grundy, *The Great Persian War*, pp. 445 f. and map facing p. 368.

¹⁹ See Grundy, *op. cit.* p. 446 and note. It is referred to by Pausanias (IX, 2, 3).

²⁰ His tour is described in I, 39. 4-end. Strabo has some important statements concerning the coast regions but he may never have visited the country (cf. Weller, *Cl. Phil.* I, 1906, pp. 339 ff.). He travelled little and depended largely on written and oral sources, probably deriving much of his material from Alexandria, where he spent considerable time (II, 101). See Anderson in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay*, 1923, pp. 1-13.

visit to Eleusis. He states that originally the district called Megaris belonged to the same territory as Attica.²¹ During the reign of Codrus the Peloponnesians invaded Attica and marched against Athens, but on being repulsed by the Athenians they were forced to withdraw. However, they seized Megara on their retreat; and as a consequence of the settlements made in their city the Megarians were compelled to change both their language and customs, and they became Dorians. According to Megarian tradition, their chief city was first called Caria after Car, the first king. But later a temple (μέγαρον) was erected to Demeter and from it the city was then named Megara.²²

Megara was built upon two hills of which the eastern was called the acropolis Caria, the western the acropolis Alcathoa.

Thucydides helps us on the topography of certain sections. There are also occasional statements in other ancient writers. Modern travellers are of assistance in describing the ancient ruins; and recent excavations, though very limited in extent, have corrected or supplemented our previous knowledge. But owing also to the fact that Megaris has suffered so severely at the hands of successive invaders, it is impossible to determine the exact location of most of the buildings and other monuments that Pausanias describes. Hence it has seemed best in the present study to follow his order of description for the most part, supplementing it wherever possible from other sources. Since Pausanias enters Megaris immediately after visiting Athens and Eleusis, Seeliger (*Alkathoos und die megarische Königsliste*, p. 40) thinks that his report of Megarian traditions was somewhat influenced by Athens; and Pfister (*Die mythische Königsliste von Megara*, p. 1) believes that whenever Attic and Megarian traditions conflict, Pausanias follows the former. But he sometimes mentions an ἐξηγητής (I, 41, 2; V, 10, 7) who was probably a local guide. Very likely much of his information comes, either directly or indirectly, from Megarian writers of the fourth and third centuries B. C. Cf. Ch. XIV below.

²¹ Criticism of myths and stories told by Pausanias in connection with any monument is reserved for Chapters II and III.

²² The origin of the name "Megara" is discussed in Chapter III and the Appendix. "Megara" is probably the earliest name of the city and Pre-Dorian.

The latter was slightly the higher.²³ The acropolis Caria was no doubt the original place of settlement, and its beginnings as a city go back to prehistoric times. Later the settlement spread to the acropolis Alcathoa and still later to the territory lying at the feet of both hills. The modern town is mostly confined to the western hill.

Megara is thus a typical Mycenaean site. Its location more than a mile from the sea and its two acropolises situated on the edge of a fertile plain recall other Mycenaean sites such as Corinth and Tiryns.²⁴ Furthermore, Mycenaean sherds have been found rather abundantly on the island Minoa,²⁵ off the south coast opposite Nisaea, and remains of Cyclopean walls are still to be seen on the acropolis Caria.²⁶ Finally, the historical and religious traditions all point to the settlement of Megara in Mycenaean or pre-Mycenaean times.

Pausanias begins his survey of the city with a brief description of the famous aqueduct of Theagenes which was notable for its size and the decoration and number of its columns. It was located on the saddle between the two hills a short distance south of the point where the two roads met that led to the top of the hills.²⁷ This gave it a central location and thither the women came with their water jars to draw the fresh spring-water that was conveyed by an underground aqueduct from the foot of the hills on the north. The spring-house was dedicated to the Sithnidian Nymphs who were especially honored in Megara since Megarus, a reputed racial ancestor of the Megarians, was said to have been the son of one of these Nymphs and Zeus.

Near the spring-house of the Nymphs was a temple built to Artemis Savior. It was erected out of gratitude to Artemis for her deliverance from the hosts of Mardonius the Persian.

²³ See Note 8. Both hills were of about the same height as the Acrocorinthus and much higher than the Acropolis at Athens.

²⁴ See Tsountas-Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, pp. 12 f.

²⁵ See Chapter III; *Ath. Mitt.* XXIX, 1904, p. 95; Fimmen, *Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, p. 9.

²⁶ See Fimmen, *l. c.*

²⁷ See *Ath. Mitt.* XXV, 1900, Pl. VII.

The Megarians told how the goddess had sent a cloud to surround the Persians as they were withdrawing from pillaging the surrounding territory. In confusion they turned toward the mountains and began to search for the enemy. They shot their arrows indiscriminately, and the rocks when struck gave forth groans—the groans of living beings, it seemed. Thus encouraged the Persians poured forth their arrows with still greater zeal. But when at length all their darts had been spent, the day began to dawn and the Megarians marched out to meet them. But the unarmed Persians were no match for the former, who slew them in great numbers. Thus Artemis saved the Megarians, and out of gratitude they dedicated a temple to her.²⁸

We now go north over the depression between the two hills and at the foot of the northwestern slope of the acropolis Caria come to the site of the Olympieum, which must have been a splendid temple. Here could be seen the chryselephantine statue of Zeus made by Theocosmus, greatest of Megarian sculptors. On this work he had been assisted by his master Phidias, but the statue was only partly completed, as the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War interrupted the work of the sculptors. Here likewise was kept the bronze beak of an Athenian trireme captured by the Megarians in the war for the possession of Salamis. Pausanias' description²⁹ of the location of this temple is vague. Bursian,³⁰ however, found on the northwest slope of the acropolis Caria some gray limestone blocks built into walls, some of them modern, and containing inscriptions³¹ that seemed to indicate

²⁸ See Paus. I, 40, 2, 44, 2. According to Herodotus (IX, 14) the Persian cavalry under Mardonius had ravaged the territory of Megaris and even attacked Megara.

²⁹ Paus. I, 40, 4, 5.

³⁰ Bursian, *op. cit.* I, p. 374.

³¹ See Collitz-Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, III, Nos. 3004-14 and I. G. VII, 1-4. Cf. Frazer on Paus. I, 40, 4. Hitzig-Blümner in their note on this passage of Pausanias (*Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio*, 1896-1918) accept the above identification as the probable site of the Olympieum but erroneously state

that the blocks originally formed part of the boundary walls of the sacred precinct.

Ascending the acropolis Caria we pass a number of sanctuaries. There follow in order the temples of Dionysus Nyctelius, Aphrodite Epistrophia, the Oracle of Night, and the temple of Zeus Conius. Finally the temple of Demeter, the famous Μέγαρον, appears on the summit of the citadel.³² Robert³³ would add a sixth temple to the list—that of Asclepius. He calls attention to the variety of Pausanias' phraseology and would take the expression τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα to indicate that Asclepius must have had a temple likewise. But this is not necessary as statues of divinities frequently stood in the open.

This ascent of the acropolis probably took place by a road that left it a short distance north of the fountain-house of Theagenes, passed across the saddle between the two hills, and led up the acropolis Alcathoa on the opposite side. Since we descend by a road on the north of the acropolis Caria, such a route for the ascent seems to harmonize best with the topography in general. The descent is made by a road leaving the acropolis on the north. The grave of Alcmena is close to the Olympieum. The Megarians claimed that Alcmena died in their country while on her way from Argos to Thebes. Thereupon a dispute arose among the sons of Heracles whether the body should be returned to Argos or taken to Thebes. The Delphic oracle advised them to bury it in Megaris. We have now completed the circuit of the acropolis Caria and have practically returned to our starting point. The present section of Pausanias' description³⁴ may be re-

that Reinganum (*op. cit.* pp. 126 f.) so identified it. The latter, both in the text and on his map (facing p. 184), located it at the foot of the south slope of the acropolis Caria. See next note. He does, however, place a temple of Zeus Olympius at the north-west of the acropolis Caria. See his map.

³² Pausanias, I, 40, 6.

³³ See Robert, *Pausanias als Schriftsteller*, p. 177 and n. 3.

³⁴ Paus. I, 40, 1; 41, 1. Cf. Robert, *op. cit.* pp. 184 f. and sketch map facing page 1 of this chapter.

garded as the first of four main divisions dealing with the topography of Megara and its environs.

Continuing north a short distance over the road leading from Megara to Thebes, we come to a small village called Rhus. In this neighborhood was located a group of temples and hero graves. The first to be passed was the tomb of Hyllus, son of Heracles; then in order come the temple of Isis and the temple of Apollo and Artemis Of-the-Chase, which was built apparently upon a low hill. Descending this hill we come to the graves of Pandion, Hippolyte and Tereus.

Rhus is interesting because of its possible connection with the public improvements carried out by the tyrant Theagenes. Pausanias' guide ³⁵ explained the word as a derivative of ῥέω because, as he said, Theagenes had turned aside the small streams that flowed in the direction of Rhus after they left the mountain. To compensate for thus diverting their course, he built an altar to Achelous in Rhus. While this derivation of the name is no doubt an example of popular etymology, there is probably some truth in the statement that Theagenes did divert the course of the mountain streams in this neighborhood for excavation has shown that the water supply for his fountain-house was derived from the mountainous district lying to the north of the city. We do not know the exact location of Rhus, but it was apparently only a short distance north of the acropolises.³⁶

Robert ³⁷ makes the temple of Apollo and Artemis the center about which turns the second section of Pausanias' tour of Megara. The temple of Isis was close to it, and it is possible that both buildings were located on a low hill. The ascent begins immediately after the mention of the grave of Hyllus and the descent after passing the grave of Pandion. Since Plutarch ³⁸ tells us that the Megarians point out "the

³⁵ Paus. I, 41, 2.

³⁶ Bursian, *op. cit.* I, p. 376, and cf. next note.

³⁷ Robert, *op. cit.* p. 178.

³⁸ Plutarch, *Thes.* 27.

grave of the Amazons" along the road leading from their market-place to Rhus, it seems reasonable to identify the *μνήμα Ἰππολύτης* of Pausanias with the *Ἀμαζόνων θήκη* of Plutarch. The latter states that this *θήκη* is shown *ὅπου τὸ 'Ρομβοειδές*. Now Pausanias describes the grave of Hippolyte thus: *καὶ τὸ τοῦ μνήματος σχῆμά ἐστιν Ἀμαζονικῇ ἀσπίδι ἐμφερές*. It is not necessary to look for geometric exactness in such descriptions, and if we conclude that both Plutarch and Pausanias are describing the same grave, it is evident that Pausanias has returned to the point whence he set out on this second tour.³⁹

Our third tour takes us to the western acropolis and its environs.⁴⁰ Pausanias' description is begun without any transitional expression, but the ascent, the tour of the summit, and the descent are clearly indicated. This acropolis was particularly associated with Alcathous, mythical leader of the colony that brought the first permanent settlers to Megara. As we ascend we pass on our right the tomb of Megarus, the hearth of the *Θεοὶ Προδομεῖς*, to whom Alcathous sacrificed when he was about to build the city walls, and nearby the famous Ringing Stone. It is upon this stone, according to local tradition, that Apollo laid his lyre while helping Alcathous build the walls. In Pausanias' estimation it was only less wonderful than the statue of Memnon. For when struck with a pebble it gave forth a sound like that of the cithara.⁴¹

On the summit were located three temples to Athena. The first was dedicated to her no doubt as Athena Polias,⁴² al-

³⁹ For the discussion of the identification of *'Ρομβοειδές* and *Ἀμαζονικῇ ἀσπίδι ἐμφερές* in the above passages see the notes of Frazer and Hitzig-Blümner. For other similar graves of Amazons see Miss Bennett, *Religious Cults Associated With the Amazons*, p. 13. According to Herodotus (IX, 27) the Amazon invasion of Attica was repulsed before the Trojan War.

⁴⁰ Robert, *op. cit.* pp. 179, 184 f. The ascent was made by the road on the eastern slope. See sketch map opposite page 1 of this chapter.

⁴¹ Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* VIII. 16; [Vergil] *Ciris*, 107.

⁴² For a discussion of this question see Chapter II, *s. v. Athena*.

though Pausanias does not give the cult-epithet. Within was a chryselephantine statue of the goddess. Nearby were the temples of Athena Victory and Athena Of-Ajax. Pausanias considers the statue in the latter to be very old and thinks that it was probably dedicated by Ajax, son of Telamon. Apollo also had a temple here in which he was worshipped under the triple relationship of Pythius, Tithe-receiver and divine *Οἰκιστής*. The building was originally of brick, but it had been rebuilt by Hadrian of white marble. As Apollo Pythius and Tithe-receiver, the god was worshipped in the form of Egyptian *ξόανα*, while his cult-statue as divine *Οἰκιστής* was of ebony wood in the style of the Aeginetan school. Finally, there is the temple of Demeter Giver-of-Laws.

As we descend we pass but a single monument, the grave of Callipolis, son of Alcathous. The story was told that Alcathous had sent his older son Ischepolis to join Meleager on the Calydonian Boar Hunt. But Ischepolis lost his life on this expedition, and his brother was the first to learn of the sad news. Rushing up the acropolis to the temple of Apollo where his father was offering sacrifice, he tore the wood from off the altar as a sign of his grief. But Alcathous, ignorant of the death of his older son and angered by this unholy act of Callipolis, struck the latter on the head with one of the billets that he had torn from the altar and killed him.

In beginning the fourth tour of the city we leave the acropolis Alcathoa and pass through the market-place toward Nisaea.⁴³ Our first objective is the Prytaneum⁴⁴ and the

⁴³ Paus. I, 42, 7; 44, 2. This section is not easy to interpret. The most rational solution is to assume that Pausanias is describing in order, as he has done previously, the various monuments that he passed after leaving the eastern slope of the acropolis on his way to the Prytaneum, thence to the market-place and through the gate of the Nymphs toward Nisaea. In such a survey the Prytaneum is the immediate objective and center of the first group (I, 42, 7; 43, 4); then we have mentioned four temples (I, 43, 5, 6); finally, the market-place stands out as the center of a third group (I, 43, 7; 44, 2). Cf. Robert, *op. cit.* p. 184. The unity of the section

monuments in its vicinity. We first come to the heroum of Ino surrounding which was a circular wall of stones. Olive trees grew about the shrine. Local tradition declared that the body of Ino had been washed upon the shores of Megaris and was discovered by the daughters of one of the early kings, Cleson the Lelegan. It is there, they said, that Ino was first called Leucothea. Each year sacrifice was offered to her.

We now pass the grave of the heroine Iphigenia, who died in Megara according to local tradition.⁴⁵ This claim, as Pausanias says, is contrary to the usual version which states that Iphigenia did not die at all but was made a priestess by Artemis. Adrastus likewise received divine honors. It is said that he died in the city while returning with his army from Thebes, the immediate cause of his death being old age and grief over the death of his son Aegialeus. The temple of Artemis to which we next come was erected by Agamemnon. He dedicated it during the visit which he made to Megara in order to persuade Calchas to accompany him on the expedition against Troy.

Robert ⁴⁶ sees much needless difficulty in the text which is the basis of the above account. After citing other versions of the Iphigenia story that are not in harmony with the

consists of the continuous description which begins with the grave of Callipolis (I, 42, 6) and ends with the mention of the temple of the Ilithyiae (I, 44, 2). But Robert (*op. cit.* p. 185) would consider the market-place as the central point just as he makes this the center from which Pausanias moves throughout his entire survey of Megara. That is, from the central point of the market-place Pausanias first visited the acropolis Caria and its environs (I, 40, 1; 41, 1); then Alcathoa and its environs (42, 1; 42, 6), with the description of the district about Rhus (I, 41, 2-9) as a kind of episode; then the Prytaneum with its neighboring monuments (I, 42, 7; 43, 4); and finally, the Gymnasium by the gate of the Nymphs (I, 44, 2).

⁴⁴ Note the phraseology: *κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ὁδὸν . . . ἐν δὲ τῷ πρυτανείῳ . . . τοῦ πρυτανείου . . . πλησίον.* Cf. Robert, *op. cit.* p. 179.

⁴⁵ Paus. I, 43, 1.

⁴⁶ Robert, *op. cit.* pp. 179 ff.

Megarian claim, Pausanias mentions the worship of Adrastus and then speaks of the temple of Artemis built by Agamemnon. Since the worship of Iphigenia and the temple of Artemis naturally stand in close relationship, the insertion of ἔχει δὲ παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Ἀδραστός τιμὰς does seem rather strange unless Pausanias is describing the exact order in which he came to the three monuments—a question that can be answered by excavation alone, as Robert observes. The latter, however, feels that the difficulty is so great as to demand a change in the text. But the language of Pausanias in the present passage is no more unusual than in many other places and is perhaps only another example of his exceptional phraseology, to which Robert himself has devoted a chapter.

Near the Prytaneum was the "Rock of Calling Up," where, according to Megarian belief, Demeter "called forth" her daughter after she had travelled far and wide in search of her. Hence, the women of Megara still celebrated this event with appropriate rites even in Pausanias' time. The Prytaneum itself contained the graves of Ischepolis and Evippus. In this same district Pausanias was guided to the graves of illustrious warriors, among whom were the heroes that had fallen in the Persian War.⁴⁷ Here again Pausanias' statement has caused some difficulty in determining the topography of the district. There is a slight variation in the manuscript reading but little difference in the sense of the passage whether we choose one reading or another. Pausanias' meaning seems to be quite clear. Practically all the graves that he has mentioned so far on the present tour are graves of heroes or heroines: ἡρῶα of Ino, Iphigenia; Adrastus ἔχει . . . τιμὰς. But he now speaks of the τάφου of ordinary human beings who had lost their lives in war. The latter were Megarians in the strict sense, whereas the others mentioned were illustrious personalities appropriated from the legendary circles of the Trojan War or Thebes. Reinganum,⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Paus. I, 43, 3. All the MSS. read the dative Μεγαρεῦσι except L., which has the genitive.

⁴⁸ Reinganum, *op. cit.* pp. 131 f. and map facing p. 184.

however, construed the passage to mean that since Pausanias describes the graves of Megarians as being *inside* the city, the preceding group must have been *outside* the city walls. Hence he places the graves of Callipolis, Ino, Iphigenia, and Adrastus along with the Rock of Demeter and the Prytaneum at the foot of the acropolis Alcathoa but outside the walls. Robert ⁴⁹ thinks that several words have dropped out of the text which he reconstructs to read: εἰσὶ δὲ [καὶ πλείονων ἐν κοινῷ] τάφοι Μεγαρέων ἐν τῇ πόλει. Frazer ⁵⁰ in his translation avoids the difficulty by rendering the sentence: "There are graves in the city of Megara." In a note ⁵¹ on the passage, the latter calls attention to the apparent irregularity of burying any but illustrious personages within the city walls, although he cites other instances of the practice. These fallen Megarians, however, were heroes to their fellow countrymen in a very real sense as we learn from an epigram composed in the spirit of Simonides." ⁵² They had fought at Artemisium, Salamis, Plataea and Mycale.

The Aesymnium likewise contained the tombs of heroes and was erected under the following circumstances. After the death of Hyperion, son of Agamemnon, the Megarians decided that it would be better for them if they were governed by several magistrates chosen yearly than by one man. So Aesymnus, who was held in high esteem among them, was sent to consult the Delphic oracle regarding the way in which they should receive the greatest prosperity. The god replied that they would prosper best "if they took counsel of the majority." This response was interpreted to mean that they should erect a building to enclose the graves of the heroes. The question has been raised whether the Aesymnium was a separate building or whether it was in some way identified with the Senate House mentioned by Pausanias ⁵³ which had

⁴⁹ Robert, *op. cit.* p. 181.

⁵⁰ Frazer, *Pausanias*, I, p. 65.

⁵¹ Frazer, *op. cit.* II, pp. 533 f.

⁵² See Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*,^a No. 17 = I. G. VII, 53.

⁵³ Paus. I, 42, 4.

crowded out the grave of Timalcus. That the Senate House was on the acropolis Alcathea is clear from Pausanias' description. Robert⁵⁴ thinks that the Senate House, Aesymnium and Prytaneum were separate buildings but were grouped closely together. He argues that when Pausanias used the word *βουλευτήριον* of the Aesymnium he was not using it in the technical sense but simply with reference to the words of the oracle: *Μεγαρέας εὖ πράξειν ἦν μετὰ τῶν πλειόνων βουλευσονται*. That is, it is the building for the meeting of a deliberative body. Hitzig-Blümner⁵⁵ also consider the two to be separate buildings. Töpffer,⁵⁶ however, believes them to be identical, and Frazer⁵⁷ understands the Aesymnium to be a room within the Senate House. The description of Pausanias seems clearly to indicate that they were separate buildings although we need not place them, along with the Prytaneum, in one group at the eastern foot of the acropolis.⁵⁸

Leaving the Aesymnium we come to the heroum of Alcatheus. Between these were the graves of Pyrgo, first wife of Alcatheus, and of Iphinoe, his daughter. The latter died when she was but a young girl. The young women of Megara were accustomed to place fillets on the tomb and before marriage to make votive offerings to her of their hair.

We now approach the market-place, between which and the grave of Alcatheus was located a group of four temples. The first was dedicated to Dionysus by Polyidus who, according to local tradition, had come to Megara to cleanse Alcatheus of the pollution which resulted from killing his son Callipolis. At the entrance of the temple stood the graves of Astycratia and Manto, daughters of Polyidus. Nearby is the temple of Aphrodite Praxis containing an ivory statue of the goddess. Praxiteles had made figures of Persuasion and Consolation, and Scopas statuettes of Love, Longing and

⁵⁴ Robert, *op. cit.* p. 182.

⁵⁵ Hitzig-Blümner, *op. cit.* I, 371.

⁵⁶ Töpffer in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. *Aisymnetes*.

⁵⁷ Frazer, *op. cit.* II, p. 534.

⁵⁸ Cf. Robert, *l. c.*

Yearning. The temple of Tyche contained a statue of the goddess which was also the work of Praxiteles. In the fourth temple⁵⁹ was a sculptured group in bronze representing Zeus and the Muses—the work of Lysippus.

Upon entering the market-place we pass the graves of Coroebus and Orsippus. The former was considered the founder of the town Tripodiscus, which lay northwest of Megara. According to the usual story, Coroebus had incurred the ill will of Apollo for slaying Punishment whom the god had sent against the city of Argos to avenge Psamathe, his beloved. As a penalty he was ordered by the Pythia to carry with him a tripod wherever he went; and at the place where the tripod should slip from his hands he was to erect a temple to Apollo and there take up his residence. Thus he became the founder of Tripodiscus.⁶⁰ On his grave elegiac verses⁶¹ were inscribed telling the story of Psamathe, and a sculptured relief represented him slaying Punishment. Orsippus was a famous athlete and warrior. He first won fame by a victory at Olympia in 720 B. C. This victory was said to have been especially notable because he disregarded previous custom in the games and ran entirely nude. Later when the Corinthians were encroaching upon Megarian territory he led the army that restored the boundary-lines of his country. An epigram on his grave recorded the latter event.⁶²

⁵⁹ See Paus. I, 43, 6. Pausanias does not say whose temple this was, but the sculptured group indicates that it belonged to Zeus. See Chapter II, *s. v. Zeus*. Robert (*op. cit.* p. 183 and n. 1) calls it the temple of the Muses.

⁶⁰ Paus. I, 43, 7-8. The name is variously given as Tripodiscus (Thuc. IV, 70; Steph. Byz.), Tripodisci (Paus. I, 43, 8; Steph. Byz.) and Tripodiscium (Strabo, IX, 394). It lay at the foot of Mt. Gerania about six miles northwest of Megara, which placed it on the shortest route from Delphi to the Isthmus. It was one of the five original villages in Megaris. See Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, II, pp. 410 f.; Bursian, *op. cit.* I, pp. 380 f.; Frazer on Pausanias, I, 43, 8. It was also the home of Susarion, reputed founder of Megarian-Attic comedy.

⁶¹ See *Anth. Pal.* VII, 154.

⁶² See Hicks and Hill, *op. cit.* No. 1.

Leaving the market-place we follow the "Straight Road" to the south. On the right, at some distance off the road, stood the temple of Apollo Protector. Here were to be seen splendid statues of Apollo, Artemis and Leto in addition to others. The group representing Leto and her children was sculptured by Praxiteles. The "Gate of the Nymphs" evidently served as an entrance to the city walls on the south, and no doubt the "Straight Road" led by it. Near this Gate stood the old Gymnasium⁶³ within which was a small stone pyramid called Apollo Carinus.⁶⁴ Here too was the temple of the Ilithyiae.

We have now completed our survey of Megara and shall next proceed to a brief consideration of the harbor-town Nisaea, which lay about one mile and a half to the southeast. These two towns were related in much the same way as were Athens and the Piraeus. Nisaea had one acropolis that stood close to the sea; and while there are still some uncertainties about the relative location of Nisaea and the island Minoa,⁶⁵

⁶³ Since Pausanias speaks of this as the old Gymnasium, it is probable that the building mentioned in I, 40, 4 was built later. It was located within the sacred precinct of the Olympieum. South of the depression that separates the two acropolises was found the stone pedestal that supported three statues. Inscriptions show that two of these statues represented masters of the Gymnasium. See Collitz-Bechtel, *op. cit.* No. 3018 a, b. These inscriptions apparently distinguished the two gymnasia as they frequently speak of the master of the Gymnasium *ἐν Ὀλυμπίῳ*. Cf. note 31. The location of the old Gymnasium as given by Reinganum in his sketch map is no doubt the correct one.

⁶⁴ See Paus. I, 44, 2. The epithet *Καρινός* causes difficulty. See Chapter II, s. v. *Apollo*.

⁶⁵ Spratt first gave the correct identification of Minoa in 1838. His identification of both Minoa and Nisaea was generally accepted, and in 1880 Lolling (*Ath. Mitt.* V, pp. 1-19) reviewed the various theories that had been held up to that time on the subject, at the same time giving additional arguments for Spratt's view. In 1904, however, Bölte and Weicker attempted to show (*Ath. Mitt.* XXIX, 1904, pp. 79-100) that the position of the two places should be reversed and that the present Hill of St. George was ancient Minoa, while Nisaea must have been located on the small hill surmounted



PLATE II.—THE ACROPOLIS OF NISAEA.

it seems quite well established that the former is to be identified with the modern Hill of St. George. Remains of fortification walls can be traced on the north, south and east. The western side of the hill being naturally strong required no wall. The eastern rampart was continued from the northeast corner about one-quarter of a mile down the hill to the plain below. Seven towers may still be seen in this prolongation. All of these walls are undoubtedly old. The town itself lay at the western slope of this acropolis.

A small bay forms the harbor of Nisaea, and at its western extremity stands a hill about 150 feet high on which is a mediaeval fortress constructed largely of ancient blocks. This hill is probably the island of Minoa mentioned by Pausanias⁶⁶ and Thucydides.⁶⁷ The former merely says that the island was close to Nisaea, while the latter states that it lay off the shore but was united to it by a causeway built over a shoal.⁶⁸ The Megarians had constructed a tower on the island and used it as a fort. There are still remains on the hill of a wall typical of the fifth century B. C. in Greece, which show that this wall ran southeast. In line with these are the remains of still another wall in the sea representing probably one of the towers held by the Megarians. North of the hill and west of the main road are two square foundations which may well belong to the bridge starting at the island. It is probable that there was no bridge from Minoa to the mainland between the years 427 and 423 B. C. For we are told⁶⁹ that Nicias cleared the channel between Minoa and the mainland in 427, which probably means that he

by the mediaeval castle. But Casson (*B. S. A.* XIX, 1912-13, pp. 70-81) has defended the view of Spratt by showing that both topographical features and the campaign during the Peloponnesian War harmonize best with the original identification. The present discussion of the topography is based mainly on Casson's article.

⁶⁶ Paus. I, 44, 3.

⁶⁷ Thuc. III, 51, 1, 3.

⁶⁸ This was done according to Girard (*op. cit.* p. vi) to protect the harbor from the wind.

⁶⁹ Thuc. III, 51, 3, 4.

destroyed a bridge previously there. In 423 the Athenians may have rebuilt this bridge after they recaptured the Long Walls.

The Long Walls connecting Nisaea and Megara were built by the Athenians in 461 when Megara joined the Athenian alliance. They were constructed for the purpose of protecting Megara from Corinth, Aegina and Epidaurus. But in the eighth year of the Peloponnesian War (424), since Megara was now on the side of Athens' enemies, the latter tore them down a part of the way, and during the following winter the Megarians themselves completed the destruction. From that time on they were alternately rebuilt and destroyed.⁷⁰ In Strabo's time they seem to have been in existence, but Pausanias does not mention them. At present there are few remains though their general direction can be traced.

With the bridge joining Minoa to the mainland intact and the Long Walls connecting the two towns, it would be easy to command the harbor of Nisaea and thus block Megara seaward. The Athenians found these conditions greatly to their advantage during the Peloponnesian War. For privateers could be prevented from issuing from the harbor to prey upon Athenian commerce since on the west of Minoa the coast is steep and rocky while at the east end of the harbor the acropolis joins a chain of hills extending for about one and a half miles and finally terminating in the promontory of Ticho.

The topography of Nisaea and Minoa as given above is based mainly upon the statements of Pausanias and Thucydides and the results of modern excavation. It shows that the configuration of the coast now differs considerably from what it was in ancient times. The shoal water which divided the island from the coast has disappeared. But that such a shoal did once exist seems most likely, as on both sides of the hill there are still to be seen the beds of streams that once flowed into the Saronic Gulf. The alluvial deposits from

⁷⁰ As late as 339 B. C. by Phocion (Plut. *Phoc.* 15).



PLATE III.—THE HULL OF MINO.

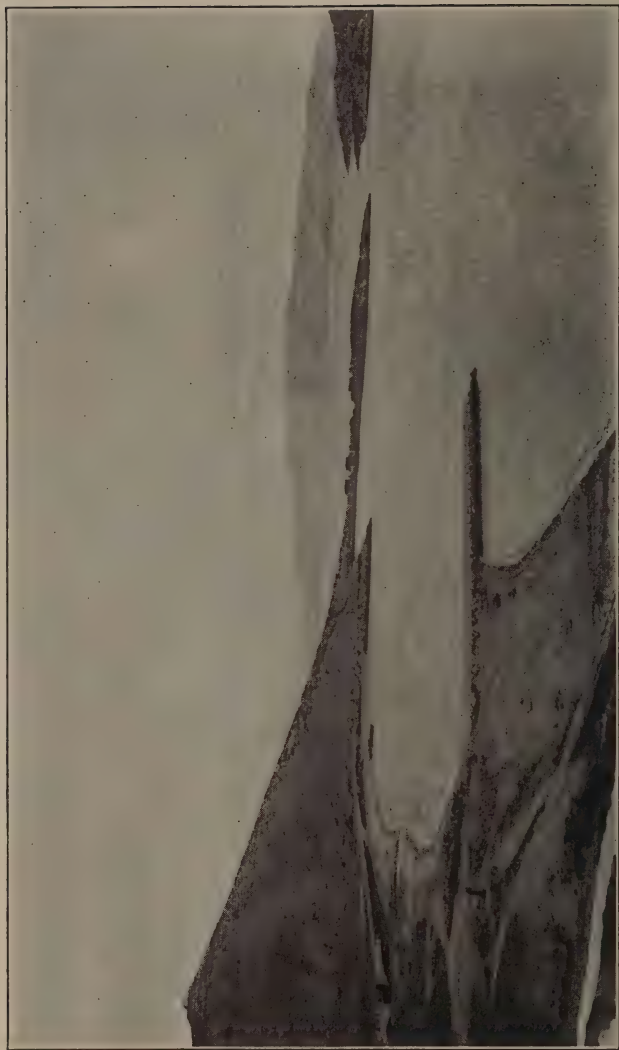


PLATE IV.—THE SHORE OF NISAEA.

The acropolis of Nisaea to the left, the hill of Minoa to the extreme right. In the distance the promontory of Tycho.

these streams may well have filled in the shoal and thus finally connected the island with the mainland. In Strabo's day the shoal seems to have been partly filled in since he describes Minoa as "a headland forming the harbor at Nisaea."⁷¹ Pausanias, however, writing 150 years after Strabo's time, calls Minoa an island. But this may mean that it was separated from the mainland only by a marsh.

What appear to be the remains of the town Nisaea may still be seen north and east of Minoa. They consist of massive foundations of ancient buildings, hewn blocks and pieces of unfluted columns. Pausanias⁷² speaks of the temple of Demeter Malophorus as being close to Nisaea, and Thucydides⁷³ mentions the sanctuaries of Enyalios and Poseidon, which evidently were in this district. The tomb of Lelex, an early mythical king of Megara, was at the foot of the acropolis of Nisaea.⁷⁴ As yet none of these sites have been identified. Modern Nisaea is located at the rocky headland extending out from the Hill of St. George.

We have already mentioned the road that ran along the southern coast and connected Megara with Corinth. Only a short distance southwest of modern Megara the footpath turns to the right of the carriage-road and passes over a hill. In the angle made by the foot-path and the carriage-road have been found a number of tombs, some of which were hewn in the rock but others constructed of stone. Many fragments of vases, statuettes and other antiquities were discovered in the graves.⁷⁵ Here no doubt was located the tomb

⁷¹ Strabo, IX, 391.

⁷² Paus. I, 44, 3.

⁷³ Thuc. IV, 67, 2; 118, 4.

⁷⁴ Bölte and Weicker (*l. c.* p. 93) would identify the grave of Lelex with the remains of heavy blocks found at the northwest point of the rocky ridge extending from Nisaea (i. e. Minoa, according to the identification followed in this study) down to the plain.

⁷⁵ Excavations were carried on by Lolling and are described by him in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1887-8, pp. 201-16. See also Philios, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1890-91, pp. 22-56, and Lolling's reply, *ibid.* pp. 56-62. One of the most important finds was a thin slab of Pentelic marble, badly

of the Samian flute-player Telephanes, mentioned by Pausanias.⁷⁶ The tomb was said to have been constructed by Cleopatra, daughter of Philip and granddaughter of Amyntas. On this same road was the grave of Car, son of Phoroneus and first of the mythical kings. The tomb has not yet been definitely located, although Lolling⁷⁷ conjectured that it might be one of the two hills called Kourmonloi only a short distance southwest of Megara. Excavations,⁷⁸ however, proved that both hills were only natural elevations. While Lolling therefore withdrew his original conjecture,⁷⁹ it is quite possible that in early times one of the hills *was* regarded as the tomb of Car, for Pausanias⁸⁰ says that originally his grave was simply a mound of earth, but that later the oracle ordered it rebuilt more elaborately of mussel-stone.

We now come to the famous Scironian road which is thus briefly but vividly described by Strabo:⁸¹ "The road from Megara and Attica to Corinth passes over <these rocks>.

damaged, which once formed part of a stela or monument. It contains a funereal inscription belonging to the first decade of the fifth century and in honor of a certain Lacles, son of Procles. The reading is very uncertain and has been much discussed. It is the oldest inscription of this type from Megaris. See Wilhelm, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXI, 1906, pp. 89 ff., 229 f., Solmsen, *ibid.* pp. 342 ff.

⁷⁶ Paus. I, 44, 6. Telephanes was a contemporary and friend of Demosthenes. See Dem. XXI, 17. He is mentioned by Athenaeus (351 C), and Nicarchus composed an epigram for his stone (*Anth. Pal.* VII, 159), in which he compared him with Orpheus, Nestor and Homer.

⁷⁷ See 'Eφ. 'Αρχ. 1887, pp. 207-8.

⁷⁸ See Philios in 'Eφ. 'Αρχ. 1890, pp. 25-8.

⁷⁹ In 'Eφ. 'Αρχ. 1890, p. 62.

⁸⁰ Paus. I, 44, 6. The last sentence of this passage is especially pertinent, and the grave of Car may be another illustration of the perishable character of Megarian buildings to which Dodwell (*Tour of Greece*, II, p. 178) called special attention.

⁸¹ Strabo, IX, 391. See also the fine description by Hertzberg, *Die Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer*, II, pp. 311 f. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, pp. 31 f., thinks that corsairs' visits may have given it this ill reputation. Cf. Aleiphron as cited in next note.

And so close does it run to the cliffs that it is steep and precipitous everywhere and, because of the overhanging rocks, high and difficult of passage." Such a road would naturally be the lurking-place of robbers. It was a dreaded path,⁸² and the modern inhabitants of Megaris have appropriately named it the *Kake Skala* ("Evil Staircase"). For six miles it followed a narrow, crumbling ledge 600 to 700 feet above the sea. So narrow was this path that only one beast of burden could pass along with safety, and even then it must needs be very sure-footed. In stormy weather its dangerous character would be especially manifest, since a false step would inevitably bring death on the rocks below. On the other hand, a road of this character would be important in time of war, as it could easily be rendered impassable and held without difficulty. Accordingly, when the Spartans heard that Leonidas had been defeated at Thermopylae, they hurried to the Isthmus, blocked up this road, and at the same time constructed a wall across the Isthmus.⁸³

Pausanias⁸⁴ is no doubt giving the local Megarian version when he states that Sciron was the first to make the road passable for an army. The emperor Hadrian later widened it so that two carriages could pass. Even today marks of carriage wheels are visible in the rocks; and these, along with remnants of supporting masonry and ancient pavement, may well be the remains of this early wagon road.⁸⁵

One of the high rocks, at a point where the road is very narrow, was called the *Molurian Cliff*. It was here, according to legend, that Ino leaped into the sea. The cliff was thereafter considered sacred to Ino-Leucothea and Palaemon, formerly Melicertes, but the rest of the region was pronounced accursed because of the evil practices of Sciron, who would pitch his victims into the sea below where a huge sea-tortoise

⁸² Cf. Alciphron, III, 70.

⁸³ Herodotus, VIII, 71.

⁸⁴ Paus. I, 44, 6.

⁸⁵ See Frazer on Paus. I, 44, 6.

would feed upon their bodies. But thanks to Theseus, Sciron at last met the same fate.⁸⁶

Above this road about four miles southwest of Megara was located the temple of Zeus Aphesius. It stood at the base of the mountains about 850 feet above sea-level and commanded a splendid view of the Saronic Gulf. The site was first identified by Lolling in 1887 and excavated by Philios two years later. The temple was a small one, only 14 by 20 feet, and contained but a single cella with portico facing southeast. A few fragments of sculpture and many sherds were found on the site. But most important of all were three fragments of a vase that bore parts of an inscription, one of these having the letters $\phi\epsilon\sigma$, which easily suggested the restoration [$\Delta\iota\delta\epsilon$ 'A] $\phi\epsilon\sigma$ [$\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$] or [$\Delta\iota$ 'A] $\phi\epsilon\sigma$ [$\acute{\iota}\varphi$] on the basis of Pausanias' statement.⁸⁷ The latter also says that he saw statues of Aphrodite, Apollo and Pan in the temple.

Advancing along the road toward Corinth we come to the grave of Eurystheus, who, according to Megarian belief, had fled from Attica after his defeat at the hands of the Heraclidae and was killed by Iolaus on this spot.⁸⁸

After leaving the Scironian Rocks the road descends to a small plain along the sea. Here was located the sanctuary of Apollo Son-of-Leto.⁸⁹ At present the plain is almost deserted because of its unhealthfulness, but some olive trees still grow in it. The neighboring swamp breeds fever, and its effect is clearly seen in the sickly inhabitants of the hamlet Kineta. As the road at this point leads through thick underbrush and up and down small hills, the view is generally shut off. The neighborhood is such as to afford

⁸⁶ Paus. I, 44, 8. This is the Athenian tradition concerning Sciron and quite different from the Megarian account (Paus. I, 44, 6; I, 39, 6). The character of Sciron is discussed more fully in Chapter III, pp. 73 ff. and notes.

⁸⁷ Paus. I, 44, 9. The meaning of the epithet $\text{'}\Delta\phi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ is discussed in Chapter II, s. v. *Zeus*.

⁸⁸ Paus. I, 44, 10. This is one of several stories.

⁸⁹ Pausanias, *l. c.*

good protection to robbers, who could easily hide in the dense shrubbery and attack passing travellers at will.⁹⁰

The boundary line between Megaris and Corinth lay only a short distance to the west in the neighborhood of the town Crommyon.⁹¹ While the latter belonged to Corinth in historical times,⁹² it was originally a town of Megaris.⁹³ The contests over boundary lines between Megaris and Corinth concerned themselves much with Crommyon and extended far back into mythical times.⁹⁴ During the Peloponnesian War it was a Corinthian garrison town.⁹⁵

Situated on the north coast were Pagae⁹⁶ and Aegosthena.⁹⁷ The former was a harbor-town connected with Megara and Nisaea by one of the principal roads. It was built on two hills close to the sea and near the site of the deserted modern

⁹⁰ See Frazer on Paus. I, 44, 10.

⁹¹ The form of the name was Κρομμύων (Strabo, VIII, 380; IX, 390 f.; Paus. II, 1, 3; Thuc. IV, 42, 44; Xen. *Hell.* IV, 4, 13; 5, 19) or Κρεμμύων (Steph. Byz. *s. v.*). The name was probably derived from κρόμμυον, since the onion was an important product of the district, not from Κρόμος, son of Poseidon, as was sometimes claimed (Paus. II, 1, 3). Cf. Bursian, *op. cit.* I, p. 384.

⁹² Thuc. IV, 45; Strabo as in the next note.

⁹³ Strabo, VIII, 380.

⁹⁴ Strabo, IX, 392.

⁹⁵ Diod. Sic. XII, 65, 7.

⁹⁶ Paus. I, 44, 4. The form of the name was Παγαί (Paus. I, 44, 4), in Attic Πηγαί (Thuc. I, 103). Pagae was called a *παροικία Μεγαρέων* (Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Πηγαί), a *φρούριον* (Strabo, VIII, 380), an *ἐμπόριον* (Schol. on Thuc. I, 103), a *πόλις* (Paus. I, 44, 4). It was originally one of the cantons (*παῖγοι*) of Megaris. Later, when Megara became the principal city, it took a subordinate place. But finally, with the waning of Megara's prosperity, due to its position along the north coast, it became prosperous and finally independent. (Cf. Thamm, *De Re Publica ac Magistratibus Megarensium*, p. 8). In Pausanias' account (I, 44, 4 ff.) Pagae, Aegosthena and Erenia are described immediately after he leaves Minoa. He then returns to the south coast (I, 44, 9). But for the sake of the unity of our account we have proceeded to the ruins along the road to Corinth immediately after the discussion of the topography of Nisaea and Minoa.

⁹⁷ See Benson, *J. H. S.* XV, 1895, pp. 314 ff.

village Alepo Chori or Alepeko Kampō. Ruins of the city may still be seen. While Pagae appears to have played a minor part in the early history of Megaris, it is quite possible that its importance would seem considerable if the economic history of this part of the Greek world were better known. For, being a seaport-town joined with Megara on the south-east, it must have been a most important center of commerce and trade in the little country. When Megara joined the Athenian alliance in 461 B. C., the Athenians got control of Pagae but gave it up in 446 at the conclusion of the Thirty Years' Peace with Sparta.⁹⁸ Inscriptions⁹⁹ as well as coins¹⁰⁰ show that it was independent in later times. Near the junction of the road leading from Megara to Plataea and Thebes and that connecting Megara with Pagae, stand two watch towers. The one is square and was probably built in the fourth century. The other is round, but we do not know at what time it was constructed. These towers were so placed as to command a view of the land around Pagae and the plain of Megara.¹⁰¹

Pagae was associated with the defeat of the Persians under Mardonius, for nearby was shown to Pausanias a rock with arrows sticking in it. Here it was, they said, that Artemis turned the Persians to confusion.¹⁰² A bronze statue of Artemis Savior was erected in the city similar in all essential features to the one in Megara. Here, too, was the grave of the hero Aegialeus, son of Adrastus.

Aegosthena¹⁰³ was the most northerly of the Megarian towns. It was situated at the head of a rectangular bay (modern Porto Germano) which, on the north, was enclosed

⁹⁸ Thuc. I, 103, 107, 111, 115.

⁹⁹ The inscriptions from Pagae are given in *I. G.* VII, Nos. 188-206. See especially Nos. 188, 190, 193, 195. Cf. Collitz-Bechtel, *op. cit.* No. 3105-3113.

¹⁰⁰ See Head, *Historia Numorum*,² pp. 394, 417.

¹⁰¹ See Tillyard, *B. S. A.* XII, 1905-6, pp. 101-8.

¹⁰² Paus. I, 44, 4. Cf. 40, 2, and see above, pp. 9 f. with note 28.

¹⁰³ The form is τὰ Ἀγρόστεινα (Steph. Byz.; cf. Paus. I, 44, 5; Xen. *Hell.* V, 4, 18; VI, 4, 26).

by the western prolongation of Mt. Cithaeron, on the south by Mt. Gerania. Back of Aegosthena the hills rise high and steep and are covered with pine and fir trees. The walls of the ancient town are well preserved,¹⁰⁴ and inscriptions found¹⁰⁵ on the site easily identify the place. The city is rarely mentioned by ancient writers. During Megara's period of prosperity Aegosthena was probably a mere canton.¹⁰⁶ Later it became independent and joined the Achæan league.

Aegosthena was noted for its sweet wine.¹⁰⁷ But its chief title to fame rested upon its relationship to the worship of Melampus, famous seer and healer. The people here were accustomed to offer sacrifice to him and celebrate a yearly feast in his honor.¹⁰⁸ According to Pausanias, Melampus worship had its origin here. This fact, together with the discovery of the primitive statuettes during the course of excavations and the existence of polygonal masonry, indicates that the first foundations of the city go back to remote antiquity.¹⁰⁹ One stretch of the road from Aegosthena to Creusis in Boeotia was evidently as dangerous as the Scironian pass. It ran along the face of the sea-cliffs and was subject to sudden and violent gusts of wind. The Lacedæmonian army experienced its dangerous character during its retreat from Boeotia in the winter of 379-8.¹¹⁰

The village Erenia, which Pausanias mentions,¹¹¹ has not been identified but it was probably located northeast of Megara.¹¹² Pausanias¹¹³ speaks of it as if it was located in

¹⁰⁴ They were massive in structure. See Benson, *l. c.* especially Pls. IX, X; Bursian, *op. cit.* I, pp. 381 f.; Frazer on Paus. I, 44, 5.

¹⁰⁵ See *I. G.* VII, 207-234; Collitz-Bechtel, *op. cit.* Nos. 3091-3104.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Thamm, *op. cit.* pp. 7 f.

¹⁰⁷ Athenaeus, X, 440.

¹⁰⁸ For Melampus, see Chapter II, *s. v.*

¹⁰⁹ See Benson, *l. c.* p. 324.

¹¹⁰ Xen. *Hell.* V, 4, 17-18; VI, 4, 26. Cf. Leake, *op. cit.* II, pp. 406 f.; Grundy, *Thucydides*, pp. 337 f.

¹¹¹ Paus. I, 44, 5.

¹¹² Leake (*op. cit.* II, pp. 408 f.) located it on the site occupied by modern Kundura about ten miles northeast of Megara. In any case

the mountainous district of the country. Some visible remains lead Sarres to place it on the summit of St. George on the side of Eleusis.¹¹⁴ In this village was the tomb erected in honor of Autonoe, daughter of Cadmus of Thebes. It was believed that she died here, overwhelmed with grief for Actaeon's death and because of other calamities.

it could not be the Castel Gerania in the mountainous section of northwest Megaris as shown on Reinganum's map. See Bursian, *op. cit.* I, p. 382.

¹¹³ Pausanias (I, 44, 5) says simply: ἐν Ἐρενείᾳ τῇ Μεγαρέων κώμῃ. The form of the name varied. See Sarres, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1910, p. 151, n. 1.

¹¹⁴ See Sarres, *l. c.* pp. 151-8.

CHAPTER II

CULTS

The only special study of the cults of Megara is by F. Pfister, *Die mythische Königsliste von Megara und ihr Verhältnis zum Kult und zur topographischen Bezeichnung*, Naumburg, 1907. But this is by no means a complete study, since it is concerned only with the mythical kings. Nearly all of the cult-epithets are discussed in the standard works of Farnell, Roscher, Preller-Robert, and Gruppe. Dempsey, *The Delphic Oracle*, is valuable for Apollo worship. See also Girard, *De Megarensium Ingenio*, pp. 25-33. For the philological character of the names of the divinities, see the brief summary of Buck, *Cl. Phil.* XXI, 1926, p. 10, and the literature there cited. For the general subject of Greek religion and mythology, mention should be made of the chapter by Halliday in *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, 1924, pp. 602 ff., and the valuable article of Kalinka, *Neue Jahrb.* XLV, 1920, pp. 401-13.

A study of the cults shows that extensive worship of the gods, heroes and heroines constituted an important aspect of Megarian civilization from the earliest times. In the present chapter we shall consider each deified personality following, so far as possible, the apparent order of prominence.

I. *Apollo*

At the head of the pantheon stood Apollo. While his worship was not the oldest in Megara, it was by far the most widely spread, as we learn from literary, inscriptional and numismatic sources. According to Megarian tradition, Apollo worship was introduced by Alcathous and closely associated with him; its first appearance, therefore, coincides with the first permanent settlement.¹ Following are the various cult-epithets by which he was recognized.

Apollo Protector (Προστατήριος).² He had a temple below the market along the "Straight Road." We are not told

¹ See Chapter III. Theognis begins his elegies (1-10) with an invocation to Apollo as his special patron. So in 773-82 the poet prays to Apollo as patron and founder of Megara.

² Paus. I, 44, 2; *I. G.* VII, 39, 40.

who made the cult-statue. Other deities were represented here by statues, among them his divine sister and mother, Artemis and Leto. There was also a group called "Leto and her Children," the work of Praxiteles. A later coin of the time of Septimius Severus shows a more or less free copy of this sculptured group.³ The epithets *Προστάτης* and *Προστατήριος* were probably equivalent in meaning and referred to the image of Apollo that frequently stood before houses.⁴ Hence, they came to signify "defender" in general.⁵ But there seems to have been no generally accepted or fixed art-form.⁶

Apollo Son-of-Leto (*Λατῶς*).⁷ His temple was located off the Scironian Road near the Corinthian border.

Apollo and Artemis Of-the-Chase (*Ἀγπαῖος* and *Ἀγποτέρα*).⁸ Local tradition said that this temple was built in their honor by Alcathous after he had slain the lion of Mt. Cithaeron. The cult probably preserves recollections of the earlier, aboriginal worship when the tribe still lived mainly by the chase.⁹

Apollo Pythius.¹⁰ The temple was located on the Acropolis Alcathea. Originally constructed of brick, it was later rebuilt by Hadrian of white marble. The Lesser Pythian games

³ Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *J. H. S.* VI, 1885, p. 56 and Pl. A. 10; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II, p. 532; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 394.

⁴ See Jebb on Soph. *Trach.* 208 and *Electra*, 637; Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, p. 1232, n. 5.

⁵ Roscher in Roscher's *Lexikon* I,¹ pp. 438 f.

⁶ Farnell, *op. cit.* p. 322.

⁷ Paus. I, 44, 10; Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.* p. 233, n. 2.

⁸ Paus. I, 41, 3. For the cult-epithets cf. Arrian, *Cyneg.* 35 and Xen., *De Venat.* VI, 13.

⁹ Farnell, IV, *op. cit.* p. 112. Cf. the cults of Apollo *Ἀγέρης* of Chios and *Λάφριος* in Calydon. The animals most commonly associated with him are the wild goat, stag and roe (Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, pp. 310 f.).

¹⁰ Paus. I, 42, 5.

were held at Megara in honor of the god.¹¹ In this same temple Apollo was also worshipped as *Δεκατηφόρος* and divine *Οἰκιστής* (= *Ἀρχηγέτης*). Aly¹² considers the former only a sub-epithet of "Pythius" and thinks it indicates the god to whom the tithe is due. But Poulsen¹³ has suggested that it may have been applied to Apollo as founder of colonies (*Ἀρχηγέτης*); for from the latter a tithe was expected by the patron deity. Preller-Robert,¹⁴ however, take it to mean simply "receiver of one-tenth" of the firstlings of flock and field, and think that it refers to Apollo as the god who gives abundant crops. In this capacity he appears to have been worshipped at Argos¹⁵ also, but otherwise the epithet is not attested outside of Megara. It seems rather inconsistent to connect *Δεκατηφόρος* with the invasion of Minos as some¹⁶ have tried to do, for the Megarians were loath to mention or even to admit that such an event ever took place.

In the capacity of divine *Οἰκιστής* we have more than one reference to Apollo,¹⁷ and it is possible to take the word as a sub-epithet of Pythius.¹⁸ In any case, it is probable that the three epithets *Πύθιος*, *Δεκατηφόρος*, *Ἀρχηγέτης* were intended to represent the worship of Apollo in a related sense and harmonious group.¹⁹ On the coins²⁰ Apollo Pythius is

¹¹ Philostratus, *De Vit. Soph.* I, 24, 3; Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7, 86, 157; *Nem.* 5, 85; *I. G.* I, 1065; Cook, *Zeus*, II, 1, p. 185, n. 2.

¹² Aly, *Der Kretische Apollonkult.* p. 5.

¹³ Poulsen, *Delphi*, pp. 25 f. So Dempsey, *The Delphic Oracle*, p. 103. Gruppe (*op. cit.* p. 1233, n. 6) explains the epithet as equivalent to the patron god of traders, the treasurer of his colonists. This would be equivalent to a sub-epithet of *Ἀρχηγέτης*.

¹⁴ Preller-Robert, *op. cit.* pp. 260 f. and n. 1.

¹⁵ *I. G.* IV, 580. But the reading is very uncertain.

¹⁶ Müller, *Dorians*, II, p. 229, n. 3; Reinganum, *op. cit.* p. 131.

¹⁷ Theognis, 773 f.; Paus. I, 42, 2. Cf. below s. v. *Θεοὶ Προδομῆς*.

¹⁸ See especially Dempsey, *op. cit.* pp. 96-104. In the Hom. Hymn to Apollo, the god is represented as guiding the Cretan priests to Delphi where he established his worship.

¹⁹ Compare the Leto group above.

²⁰ See Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *l. c.* p. 55; Head, *op. cit.* p. 394.

symbolised in various ways: by the lyre, tripod, or quiver; or by the omphalos above which are eagles.

In conclusion we may say that not only is the above close grouping of the three epithets consistent, but it is likewise significant that this particular temple to Apollo should be located upon the western acropolis. For the function of Apollo as *Ἀρχηγέτης* is prehistoric; and in this capacity the god is naturally associated with the coming of Alcathous, founder of the first definitely organized colony after the Cretan invasion.

Apollo Carinus (*Καρινός*).²¹ This epithet is difficult to interpret, and several explanations have been offered. By some²² it is taken to mean "the Apollo of Car," which would make this form of Apollo worship in Megara pre-Dorian and connect it with the first mythical king. Historically this can be justified, but the formation of the adjective is peculiar if it is to be based on the stem of *Κάρ*.²³ To avoid the difficulty, Sylburg proposed the emendation *Καρικόν* or *Κάρνειον*. The latter seems quite plausible, because in another passage²⁴ Pausanias mentions the worship of the Carnean Apollo in close association with that of the Ilithyiae, just as he does here. But Wide²⁵ would make *Καρινός* and *Κάρνειος* identical, deriving the latter from *κάρνος* (= ram). Hence, if the worship of Apollo Carneios was so thoroughly Dorian²⁶ and con-

²¹ Paus. I, 44, 2.

²² Frazer, *ad loc.* Cf. Pfister, *op. cit.* pp. 8 f.; Cook, *Zeus*, II, 1, p. 168, n. 1, who rejects the idea that *Καρινός* is a by-form of *Κάρνειος* (See note 30 below).

²³ Just as we have *Kapla* (the acropolis) from *Κάρ*, so we should expect *Κάρπιος* as the masculine form of the adjective. Cf. Reinganum, *op. cit.* p. 141, n. 3; Hdt. V, 66, *Διὶ Καρίῳ*. But we do have mention of an early temple of Carian Zeus (*Διὸς Καρίου ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον*) in Hdt. I, 171.

²⁴ Paus. III, 14, 6.

²⁵ In Roscher's *Lexikon*, II¹, pp. 961, 964.

²⁶ See Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 150; Aly, *op. cit.* pp. 8-10; Miss Swindler, *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo*, pp. 45 f. But there were pre-Dorian Apolline cults likewise of which that of Apollo *Κάρνειος* seems to be one (Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, pp. 111 f. Cf.

nected with flocks and agriculture,²⁷ it would be especially appropriate to Megara with its extensive rearing of sheep and goats. Farnell²⁸ interprets a coin²⁹ along with this passage of Pausanias as probably referring to Apollo Carneios. Another possible solution is to take *Καρινός* as a dialectal form of *Κάρνεος*.³⁰ The alternative emendation *Καρινός*, suggested by Sylburg, is a common adjective form for "Carian."³¹ But we also know that the conical pillar was the emblem of the worship of Apollo Agyieus,³² and Farnell thinks³³ that it is to this aspect of the god's worship that the monument in question should be referred. In any case, we have here a very early representation of the god, perhaps a reminiscence of the original settlement in Megaris. In fact, all the cult-epithets of Apollo that we have met so far are very old and describe closely related functions.³⁴

To what extent Apollo was worshipped in Megara under

Dempsey, *op. cit.* pp. 35 ff.). Dieuchidas, a Megarian historian of the fourth century B. C., states that the erection of the Agyieus-pillar was a peculiar Dorian custom (Müller, *F. H. G.* IV, pp. 388 f.). With this statement the coins agree. Cf. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 1, p. 165, n. 3, and p. 166, and in general pp. 160 ff. In fact, the historian may be describing the obelisk as it appears on the coins. Cf. Cook, *op. cit.* p. 162, fig. 108.

²⁷ Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 259; Hall, *Aegean Arch.* pp. 148 f. The ram was sacrificed to him (Theocr. V, 82).

²⁸ Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 364. So Head, *op. cit.* p. 393 (cf. p. 269).

²⁹ See Head, *l. c.* The coins show an obelisk between two dolphins. Such representation of Apollo was very common (Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *l. c.* p. 55, Pl. L. VIII). Pfister, *op. cit.* p. 12, n. 22, thinks that the pyramidal pillar is to be interpreted as a phallic symbol. But it seems rather to be heraldic. See Evans, *J. H. S.* XXI, 1901, pp. 130 ff.

³⁰ See Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v. Apollon*.

³¹ Hdt. I, 171.

³² Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 307.

³³ Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 317.

³⁴ Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, pp. 148 ff., 161 f.; V, p. 19; Dieuchidas, frag. 2 (Müller, *F. H. G.* IV, p. 388); Theognis, 773 f.; Müller, *Dorians*, I, pp. 321 ff., Eng. trans.; Aly, *op. cit.* p. 53; Swindler, *op. cit.* pp. 41 f.

his various other aspects we cannot say. In an inscription³⁵ of the sixth century B. C. he is invoked as *Δύκειος*. He must have been recognized also as *Κιθαροιδός* if we are permitted to draw any inferences from the legend of the Ringing Stone,³⁶ and the representations on the coins.³⁷ In another inscription³⁸ he has the epithet *Μούσεος*. He was also recognized as god of the battle³⁹ and lord of the spring festival.⁴⁰ There are only two hints that he may have had a cult as *Smintheus*.⁴¹ The frequent appearance of the dolphin on Megarian coins,⁴²

³⁵ See *I. G.* VII, 35.

³⁶ Paus. I, 42, 1-3. See Chapter I.

³⁷ The following types are known:

Apollo standing holds lyre and plectrum.

Head of Apollo: Lyre, tripod, dolphin or quiver.

See Head, *op. cit.* p. 393; Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *l. c.* p. 55; Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 327. Compare the passage in Plutarch, *Pyth. Or.* 16.

³⁸ Cf. Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Arch.* II, No. 25 = *I. G.* VII, 36, and Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.* p. 281.

³⁹ Plutarch, *l. c.*

⁴⁰ Theognis, 775 ff.

⁴¹ In an inscription (Dittenberger *Syll.*³ No. 653 A), probably about 165 B. C., a certain Cassandrus, son of Menestheus, is honored by various peoples among whom are the Megarians. The IS. was found in the rubbish of the temple of Apollo *Smintheus* in the Troad. In the *Acharnians* (761-3) the Megarian compares the raid of the Athenians into Megaris to raids on the crops by field mice (*ἀρωπαῖοι μύες*). The cult-word for field mouse was *σουλῖθος*. Farnell, *op. cit.* IV, p. 165, says that there are no traces of the cult of Apollo *Smintheus* on the mainland of Greece, and that it was confined to the islands of the Aegean and Asia Minor. Aly, *op. cit.* p. 53, limits it to Asia Minor, but Miss Swindler, *op. cit.* p. 32, finds traces of it at Athens and Thespiae.

⁴² Head, *op. cit.* p. 393. The coins belong to the fourth century and later. Miss Swindler, *op. cit.* pp. 22-29, has apparently overlooked the coins of Megara and this pyramidal column (Paus. I, 44, 2) in her discussion of Apollo *Delphineus*. The cult was very general among the Greek states, and the dolphin was regarded as an incarnation of Apollo. At Athens his cult was associated with the memory of Deucalion's flood (Usener, *Die Sintflutsagen*, pp. 147 f.). But Usener makes no mention of Megara in this connection.

especially in those cases where the head of Apollo appears on the obverse, suggests also the cult-epithet Delphineus.

The god's name appears frequently as an element in Megarian proper names. His statue was set up at Delphi after the defeat of the Athenians near Nisaea.⁴³

II. *Artemis.*

Artemis had two temples in Megaris, and along with her divine brother Apollo was worshipped in a third.

Artemis Savior (Σώτρεα).⁴⁴ This temple was near the fountain of the Sithnidian Nymphs and had been built in early times. It contained a bronze cult-statue made by Strongylion. The epithet Σώτρεα was bestowed upon the goddess because she had saved the Megarians from the Persians under Mardonius. On the coins⁴⁵ she is represented running with torches. One late coin of Pagae shows her in her temple and seems to represent a copy of the present cult-statue.⁴⁶ Artemis was frequently worshipped as a goddess of battle, as a divinity who aided the fight; and often, no doubt, her epithet Σώτρεα can be explained as due to the fact that the battle occurred in a locality where she was supposed to be powerful. Wild regions would therefore be appropriate to the idea.⁴⁷ As Pausanias tells us, the defeat of the Persians occurred in the wild, mountainous country of north Megaris.

Artemis Of-the-Chase (Ἀγροτέρα).⁴⁸ In this capacity she had joint worship with Apollo. (See above, page 32). Originally, however, Apollo and Artemis were not associated in cult and their worship was independent.⁴⁹ The monuments in which they are found together are practically all

⁴³ See Paus. X, 15, 1; Plutarch, *Pyth. Or.* 16.

⁴⁴ Paus. I, 40, 2; 44, 4.

⁴⁵ Head, *op. cit.* p. 394.

⁴⁶ Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *J. H. S.* VI, 1884, p. 53.

⁴⁷ Farnell, *op. cit.* II, p. 470. An unknown poet of the Anthology (IX, 534) thus celebrates her: Ἀρτεμὶς ἰδρώουσα προάγγελός ἐστι κυδοιμοῦ.

⁴⁸ Paus. I, 41, 3.

⁴⁹ Farnell, *op. cit.* II, p. 532.

late. The Megarian coins represent Artemis holding bow and arrow or drawing an arrow from her quiver.⁵⁰ These too are all late. There was usually no special cult-significance in such grouping of the two divinities.⁵¹

Artemis Of-Agamemnon. Her temple was probably a very old one, and the occasion of its erection seems to have been forgotten. Pausanias is no doubt relating an early local tradition when he says that Agamemnon built it before the Trojan War. The tradition was at least as old as Theognis, although the latter does not mention Calchas. This is probably one of several instances where the Megarians tried to connect themselves with the great sagas.⁵³ Mycenae⁵⁴ also claimed to be the birthplace of Calchas, and Gruppe⁵⁵ thinks he was undoubtedly Argive. Maas⁵⁶ suggests that in later times he was confused with the eponymous founder of Chalcedon.

Artemis Orthosia (Ὀρθωσία). Our source for this cult is an inscription⁵⁷ found on the base of a statue of a priestess in Megara. The epithet Ὀρθωσία seems to be equivalent to

⁵⁰ Head, *op. cit.* p. 394; Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *l. c.* p. 53. On one of the coins Artemis is shown in long chiton raising one hand to her quiver, while with the other hand she grasps what seems to be a plectrum (Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *l. c.* p. 56). But Farnell, *op. cit.* II, p. 536, thinks that if this really is a plectrum, it may refer to Artemis Hymnia (*op. cit.* pp. 471 ff.).

⁵¹ Farnell, *op. cit.* II, p. 532.

⁵² Paus. I, 43, 1; Theognis, 11 f.

⁵³ Cf. below Athena *Alavris*, and Iphigenia. Ischepolis is said to have lost his life on the Calydonian Boar Hunt (Paus. I, 42, 6). Adrastus died in Megara after his return from the siege of Thebes, according to local tradition (Paus. I, 43, 1).

⁵⁴ Hyg. *Fab.* 97.

⁵⁵ Cf. Heckenbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* *Kalchas*.

⁵⁶ *Hermes*, XXIII, pp. 619 f. Cf. Hitzig-Blümner on Paus. I, 43, 1; Pfister, *op. cit.* pp. 34 ff., 46.

⁵⁷ *I. G.* VII, 113: time of the Roman Empire. This cult had been carried to Byzantium (Hdt. IV, 87).

ῥοθία,⁵⁸ and according to Farnell,⁵⁹ referred to the erect image that frequently represented the goddess in this capacity. But since her worship was commonly associated with some legend of bloodshed and with the name of Iphigenia, it is more likely that the epithet here refers to scourging such as took place in the temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Other explanations have also been offered.⁶⁰

The epithet *Kopía* is likewise attested by the observation of the *Kopιάσια* in Megara.⁶¹

III. *Demeter.*

The worship of Demeter in Megara was very old, if not the oldest. Pfister⁶² is therefore justified in seeing a close connection between Car, the first Megarian king, and Demeter. This subject is discussed more fully in Chapter III.

Demeter Of-the-Mέγαρον. This temple was the oldest of the three in which Demeter was worshipped, and probably preserved the memory of the introduction of her cult into the country. The building itself, however, was probably erected in the heroic age on the plan of the μέγαρον, or king's palace.

Demeter Lawgiver (Θεσμοφόρος).⁶³ The epithet no doubt means "giver of laws,"⁶⁴ and this aspect of her worship was likewise very old.⁶⁵ But the strict political or civic sense of the word seems to have been developed in later times.⁶⁶ The

⁵⁸ Cf. Gildersleeve on Pindar, *Ol.* III, 54.

⁵⁹ Farnell, *op. cit.* II, p. 453.

⁶⁰ See Bosanquet in *B. S. A.* XII, 1905-6, pp. 331 ff., especially pp. 332 f.

⁶¹ See Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v. Artemis.*

⁶² Pfister, *op. cit.* pp. 3, 8 ff. Cf. Paus. I, 39, 5; 40, 6.

⁶³ Paus. I, 42, 6.

⁶⁴ The scholiast on Lucian's *Dial. Meretr.* II, 2, says that Demeter was called *θεσμοφόρος* because she laid down a law (*θέσμος*) according to which mankind should gain its livelihood by labor. See J. Harrison, *Proleg. to Gk. Relig.* pp. 120-123; Farnell, *op. cit.* III, p. 76.

⁶⁵ Farnell, *op. cit.* III, p. 78. ⁶⁶ Farnell, *op. cit.* III, pp. 75, 232.

goddess is represented on the coins⁶⁷ usually holding one or more torches. Such representation may be connected with the torch-service in the Thesmophoria.⁶⁸ Perhaps the thriving Megarian industry of pig-raising⁶⁹ was considerably inspired by the requirements of Demeter worship.

Demeter Malophorus (Μαλοφόρος).⁷⁰ It is a matter of considerable dispute whether the epithet means "giver of sheep" or "giver of apples (fruit)." But from Pausanias' statement, the later Megarians understood it to mean "giver of sheep" and worshipped the goddess as the one who first inspired that industry. Whatever may be the philological difficulties,⁷¹ and objections based on cult-history,⁷² this seems the most natural interpretation of the epithet, for we are told⁷³ that at the end of the fifth century sheep-raising gave most of the Megarians their livelihood, and apparently the growing of fruit apart from that of figs, was not a distinctive industry at Megara.

⁶⁷ Head, *op. cit.* p. 394.

⁶⁸ Farnell, *op. cit.* III, p. 229.

⁶⁹ The Megarian in the Acharnians (764 ff.) calls his pigs χοίρους μυστικάς.

⁷⁰ Paus. I, 44, 3. Demeter was worshipped as Μαλοφόρος at Selinus, a Megarian colony in Sicily (Freeman, *History of Sicily*, I, p. 427, n. 1).

⁷¹ Ahrens, *Dor. Dial.* pp. 145, 153, argues that since in true Doric μάλον (Att. μήλον) always means "fruit," therefore Dor. μαλοφόρος must be "fruit-giving." In true Doric and Boeotian the Attic μήλον (sheep) becomes μείλον. So in Pindar. He cites Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 396, μηλοφόρος, and Theocr. *Epigr.* 2, μηλοφορέω. Welcker (*Griech. Götterlehre*, II, p. 474), however, connects Demeter with districts that grow goats and sheep, and refers to this passage of Pausanias. He also calls attention to a coin of Pagae on which Demeter appears with a ram.

⁷² Farnell, *op. cit.* III, p. 32 f., claims that the rendering "giver of apples" is more in conformity with cult-practice, since the animals usually sacrificed to Demeter were the cow, bull and pig, while the goat, sheep and ram are rarely mentioned. But Megarian rams were famous (Theognis, 183 ff. and Hudson-Williams, *ad loc.*).

⁷³ Xen. *Mem.* II, 7, 6. Cf. Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny*, p. 266.

IV. *Zeus.*

Zeus was worshipped in four temples at Megara as follows:

*Zeus Olympius.*⁷⁴ This cult was apparently the same as that at Athens. Theocosmus, assisted by Phidias, had begun work on a chryselephantine statue of the god, which was left unfinished. Above the head of the god were placed the Seasons and Fates. Thus Zeus was represented as controlling Destiny and governing the Seasons—the god supreme, probably in close accordance with the idea of the Zeus Olympius of Phidias.⁷⁵ A coin⁷⁶ of Imperial times represents Zeus seated holding a Victory. On another coin he is seated holding an eagle. The first may well be a copy of this statue. All coins of this type are probably the conventional representation of a seated Zeus by Phidias, as on the coins of Elis, Alexander the Great, and others. The variation between the Victory and eagle is probably due to the substitution of a simpler device, such as the eagle, for the more difficult representation of the Victory. But the two are equivalent in meaning.⁷⁷ The Megarian Zeus was thus the Zeus of the North, of the Hellenes.

Zeus Aphesius (Ἀφέσιος).⁷⁸ The temple was located southwest of Megara at the base of the mountains and above the road leading from Megara to Corinth.⁷⁹ The situation is significant. Various interpretations of the epithet have been given. Pausanias seems to explain it as meaning "releaser" (from drought).⁸⁰ Farnell⁸¹ partly assents to this but rejects

⁷⁴ Paus. I, 40, 4. This temple was apparently located at the foot of the northwest slope of the acropolis Caria. See Chapter I.

⁷⁵ Farnell, *op. cit.* I, p. 136.

⁷⁶ Head, *op. cit.* p. 394; Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *l. c.* pp. 53 f.

⁷⁷ Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *l. c.*

⁷⁸ Paus. I, 44, 9. But the text is corrupt and various emendations have been proposed. See Cook, *op. cit.* II, ii, p. 895, n. 1.

⁷⁹ See Chapter I.

⁸⁰ Compare a similar story of long-continued draught and final relief by Zeus in Paus. II, 29, 7. ⁸¹ Farnell, *op. cit.* I, pp. 45, 51.

the association of Zeus Panhellenius and Zeus Aphesius. The common cult-epithet of Zeus Sender-of-Rain is "Ομβριος or 'Υέτιος.⁸² But Preller-Robert⁸³ reject Pausanias' explanation as aetiological and suggest "Escort," "Patron-of-the-Journey." The *Etymologicum Magnum*⁸⁴ explains it as "Savior." Cook,⁸⁵ however, believes that 'Αφέσιος refers to some mountain-cult of Zeus going back, for its simplest and original form, to the story of Deucalion's escape from the flood, after which he built an altar to the god on the mountain high above Argos. Such a temple as the present one represents the third and last stage in the development of the mountain-cult of Zeus.

Zeus Conius (Κόνιος).⁸⁶ The temple was hypaethral and located on the ascent to the acropolis Caria. The epithet Κόνιος has caused difficulty, but the MSS. are almost unanimous in the reading, only one offering a variant (Κρόνιος), which is easily explained. K. F. Hermann⁸⁷ suggested the emendation Σκότιος or Χθόνιος. Hitzig-Blümner⁸⁸ think the epithet inexplicable. But it is well known that among primitive peoples causing the wind to rise or be still, according to one's purpose, is an important activity which can be controlled by the proper ceremony.⁸⁹ We may, therefore, easily connect Κόνιος with κόνις and interpret it as meaning "Raising (or laying) the dust,"⁹⁰ from the more general idea of Zeus as the one who can control the winds and rain.

⁸² Farnell, *op. cit.* I, 44.

⁸³ Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.* p. 118, n. 3. Cf. ἀποβαρήπιος.

⁸⁴ *Etymol. Mag.* p. 176, 32.

⁸⁵ Cook, *op. cit.* pp. 117, 121.

⁸⁶ Paus. I, 40, 6.

⁸⁷ See *Philologus*, III, p. 518.

⁸⁸ In their comments on the passage in Pausanias.

⁸⁹ See Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, pp. 26-30.

⁹⁰ Frazer (*Pausanias*, I, p. 61) translates the adjective "Dusty" — "a roofless temple of Dusty Zeus." Cook, *op. cit.*, II, i, p. 257, n. 4, interprets it as Zeus "of the dust," that is, the god who raises the dust-storm, and cites Plato, *Rep.* 496 D, as well as modern conditions in Greece.

In that case we have another mountain-cult of Zeus with open-air altar,⁹¹ regarded as relating to the Bright Sky and as yet aniconic.⁹²

*Zeus and the Muses.*⁹³ In early times the Muses were to Zeus what the Maenads were to Dionysus⁹⁴; and it is only natural that in later times the cult-statues should reflect this early conception of the god.

V. *Athena.*

Athena was worshipped in three temples all closely grouped about the summit of the acropolis Alcathea.

*Athena Polias.*⁹⁵ Pausanias does not give the cult-epithet, but the suggestion of Robert⁹⁶ that this must be Athena Guardian-of-the-City harmonizes well with the eminence of the location and character of the statue. The latter was probably a frame-work of wood overlaid with gold and ivory,⁹⁷ recalling the statue of Athena Parthenos at Athens. The

⁹¹ Cook, *op. cit.* pp. 118 f.

⁹² Cook, *op. cit.* p. 121.

⁹³ Paus. I, 43, 6. Robert (*Pausanias als Schriftsteller*, p. 183, n. 1) thinks that this temple was dedicated to the Muses. But while the order of words in the above passage from Pausanias does place the Muses first and Zeus last, in such a group Zeus would undoubtedly be the leading deity and the Muses simply his attendants. An inscription (*I. G.* VII, 38) was found on two of a number of large stones at Megara which seem to have formed the base for a group of sculpture. It has been suggested by Löwy (*Ath. Mitt.* X, 1885, pp. 145-150) that this belonged to the group of Zeus and the Muses. Pomtow (*Jahrb. Arch. Inst.* XXXII, 1917, p. 136) accepts the above identification but thinks that the inscription may be a renewal of 250 B. C. Theognis addresses the Muses and Graces in *El.* 15-18.

⁹⁴ Cook, *op. cit.* p. 111.

⁹⁵ Paus. I, 42, 4.

⁹⁶ In Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.* p. 216, n. 3.

⁹⁷ Paus. I, 42, 4. Cf. Bursian, *Geog.* I, p. 377. Hitzig-Blümner (*ad. loc.*) in correcting Reinganum (*Das alte Megaris*, p. 131) have misunderstood the latter's statement, which is correct.

representation of Athena on a coin⁹⁸ seems to be a copy of this chryselephantine statue. In the absence of a cult-epithet we are perhaps justified in seeing a very primitive⁹⁹ or even pre-Hellenic¹⁰⁰ worship of Athena. All her cults in Megara go back at least to the time before she became the great patron goddess of Megara's neighbor and rival, Athens.

*Athena Victory.*¹⁰¹ Her temple stood close to the preceding one, just as her function was closely associated with Athena in general.¹⁰²

*Athena Of-Ajax.*¹⁰³ This cult-epithet was given apparently to connect her worship with the Achæan period,¹⁰⁴ and therefore with the Heroic Age. When this took place it is difficult to say. Some¹⁰⁵ think that the temple was erected after Megara gained control of Salamis. In that case it may go as far back as the beginning of the eighth century, when it seems likely that Megara took Salamis. Seeliger,¹⁰⁶ however,

⁹⁸ Head, *op. cit.* p. 394.

⁹⁹ Farnell, *op. cit.* I. 258 ff.

¹⁰⁰ H. R. Hall, *Anc. Hist. of the Near East*, p. 520 and n. 1.

¹⁰¹ Paus. I, 42, 4.

¹⁰² Preller-Robert, *op. cit.* pp. 494 ff.

¹⁰³ Paus. I, 42, 4.

¹⁰⁴ Farnell, *op. cit.* I, p. 259. Cf. the Artemis of Agamemnon, above, p. 38. Hitzig-Blümner (on Paus. I, 42, 4) following Töpffer, *Att. Genealogie*, p. 272. But Farnell, *op. cit.* I, p. 265, also suggests that the cult-epithet may have been misunderstood and later identified with the name of the great Greek warrior. Cf. note 106. Girard has argued (*Rev. des Ét. Grecques*, XVIII, 1905, pp. 67 f.) that *Alavris* has nothing to do with Ajax, but is the feminine form of an oriental word meaning "lady" or "mistress" and equivalent to *Δεσπότης* or *Δέσποιννα*. In spite of the traditions as found in the *Odyssey* (XI, 547), and Sophocles' *Ajax*, where Athena is represented as hostile to Ajax, there is good reason to associate this great warrior with Athena. For he was probably a powerful leader of the Saronic Gulf and frequently engaged in piratical raids on neighboring peoples. See below, Ch. VIII.

¹⁰⁵ Hitzig-Blümner and Töpffer as above. So also Ch. VII below.

¹⁰⁶ Seeliger, "Alkathoos u. die Megarische Königsliste," *Festschrift für J. Overbeck*, p. 38. According to Megarian tradition, Ajax was the grandson of Alcathous.

believes that the list of Megarian kings was composed about 200 B. C. under the influence of Hellenistic politics and at the time when Megara belonged to the Amphictyony of Onchestus. In that case we should have a late tradition to explain the origin of the cult. But if we can judge by a coin, the statue of Athena was probably archaic. On this she is shown erect with spear in raised right hand and shield on left arm. The figure is rather archaic and stiff and may well be a copy of Athena Aiantis.¹⁰⁷

Athena Aithuia.¹⁰⁸ Athena was sometimes worshipped as a goddess of commerce or of the storm and waves, as, for instance, at Sunium and other promontories.¹⁰⁹ Here she may have been identified with the gull since the epithet *aithuia* means "sea-gull," and probably refers to her function of protecting ships.¹¹⁰ According to Hesychius,¹¹¹ the Megarians worshipped Athena under this title because on one occasion she had changed herself into a diver-bird and had carried Cecrops into Megara, hiding him under her wings. The vases often represent the goddess accompanied by a bird with a woman's face.¹¹² On one of these vases the word *φοῦς* occurs, which is thought to be equivalent to *aithuia*.¹¹³ The bluff of Athena Aithuia is probably to be identified with the point jutting out into the sea on the south side of the hill of Nisaea.¹¹⁴

Athena Giver-of-Booty (Ἀγῆτις). An inscription¹¹⁵ of the

¹⁰⁷ Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *l. c.* p. 7.

¹⁰⁸ Paus. I, 41, 6; 5, 3. Cf. Lycophron, *Alex.* 359.

¹⁰⁹ Preller-Robert, *op. cit.* p. 217.

¹¹⁰ Farnell, *op. cit.* I, p. 265.

¹¹¹ Hesychius, *s. v.* ἐν δ' Αἰθῦα.

¹¹² See Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, III, Pl. VI; *J. H. S.* V, 1884, Pl. XL.

¹¹³ *Etymol. Mag.* *s. v.* Πῶνγγες; Hesych. *s. v.* πῶνξ; Arist. *Hist. Anim.* IX, 12 (615 b); Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, pp. 17 f.

¹¹⁴ See Mayer in *Hermes*, XXVII, 1892, pp. 481-489; Frazer on Paus. I, 41, 6.

¹¹⁵ See Collitz-Bechtel, *S. G. D. I.* No. 3001 = *I. G.* VII, 37.

fifth century B. C. reads: [τ]οῖδε ἀπὸ λα[ία]ς τὰν δεκάτα[ν] ἀνέθηκαν Ἀθ[ά]ναι. This line is clearly an hexameter. As a war goddess Athena is especially celebrated in ancient hymns and sagas, and in the Iliad.¹¹⁶

VI. *Aphrodite*.

Aphrodite was a pre-Hellenic divinity,¹¹⁷ and it is probable that her worship was introduced into Megara at an early period. Her two temples were located on the acropolis Caria. Her worship, however, does not seem to have been very extensive, but she did have some illustrious followers in such persons as Aspasia, Lais, Nicarete and Simaetha, although it is not likely that the Megarians pursued the worship of the goddess of love any more fervently than did the other Greeks.¹¹⁸

Aphrodite Praxis.¹¹⁹ Her temple was called the Aphrodisium¹²⁰ and was probably located below the Town-hall.¹²¹ The epithet Πρᾶξις refers to her function as goddess who gives success in love.¹²² The cult-statue was made of ivory and was the oldest in the sculptured group. Praxiteles had added statues of Persuasion and Exhortation, while Scopas had sculptured the group consisting of Love, Longing and Yearning. Such companions frequently accompanied Aphrodite and are often seen on the vases.¹²³

Aphrodite Epistrophia.¹²⁴ This epithet probably means

¹¹⁶ See Preller-Robert, *op. cit.* p. 214.

¹¹⁷ See Hall, *l. c.*

¹¹⁸ The Megarians have been criticized for their patronage of *ἐραῖραι* and this trait has been attributed to their Ionian blood. Cf. Rein-ganum, *De Indole atque Ingenio Megarensium*.

¹¹⁹ Paus. I, 43, 6. Girard (*op. cit.* p. 72, n. 1) thinks Aph. Praxis is opp. to Aph. Ourania. Cf. Plato, *Symp.* 180.

¹²⁰ Cf. Xen. *Hell.* V, 4, 58.

¹²¹ Plutarch, *Agessil.* 27.

¹²² Farnell, *op. cit.* II, 665.

¹²³ Preller-Robert, *op. cit.* pp. 501-509.

¹²⁴ Paus. I, 40, 6.

"turning the heart to love."¹²⁵ An inscription¹²⁶ belonging to the time of the Achaean League informs us that the *δαμουργοί* of Megara made offering to the goddess. Her cult was carried to Chalcedon and Byzantium, Megarian Black Sea colonies.

VII. *Dionysus*.

The introduction of the worship of Dionysus seems to have taken place at an early time if we credit the tradition that it was closely connected with Alcahous.¹²⁷

Dionysus Patrous (Πατῤῥος).¹²⁸ So far as we know, Megara was the only Greek community that honored him as an ancestral god.¹²⁹ According to legend, his worship was introduced during the reign of Alcahous. Polyidus, great-grandson of Melampus the Seer, erected this temple when he visited the city to cleanse Alcahous of pollution incurred through the murder of his son. This story seems to combine the idea of Dionysus worship coming from the north with its introduction by the Minyans.¹³⁰ The cult-statue was a wooden image (ξύανον) veiled except about the head.

Dionysus Dasyllius (Δασύλλιος).¹³¹ In the above temple Pausanias also saw another statue of the god which had been set up by Euchenor, grandson of Polyidus. The epithet has been variously interpreted. It may refer to him as god of

¹²⁵ Farnell, *op. cit.* II, p. 665. Ἐπιστροφία sometimes = ἔρως: Preller-Robert, *op. cit.* p. 368.

¹²⁶ See Collitz-Bechtel, *S. G. D. I.* No. 3030.

¹²⁷ Paus. I, 43, 5. This probably is only a special application of the story that Melampus introduced the worship of Dionysus into the Peloponnesus and was of Minyan stock. Cf. Farnell, *op. cit.* V, p. 111.

¹²⁸ Paus. *l. c.*

¹²⁹ A late authority (Schol. on Ap. Rh. IV, 1212), however, claims that the Bacchiadae of Corinth derived their origin from him. See Farnell, *op. cit.* V, pp. 85, 92, 133 f.

¹³⁰ Cf. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 64.

¹³¹ Paus. *l. c.* At Collatis there was a temple to Dionysus Dasyllius—the Δασυλλεῖον.

vegetation in general, or of tree-life¹³² as deity of the spring;¹³³ or as one who causes the vines to put forth leaves, therefore god of the vine *par excellence*.¹³⁴

Dionysus Nyctelius (Νυκτέλιος).¹³⁵ The epithet probably refers to his worship at night and thus to his character as chthonic deity.¹³⁶ If the latter is true, this is the only record we have of a public cult to Dionysus as a chthonic deity. But as a god who arises from the earth he could easily be regarded as chthonic.

VIII. *Poseidon*.

We hear practically nothing of the worship of Poseidon. Thucydides¹³⁷ mentions his temple, which must have been near the south coast and only a short distance east of Minoa. As Poseidon was an early, pre-Hellenic deity¹³⁸ and special patron of trade and commerce, his worship may have become eclipsed, especially after Megara's flourishing oversea trade began to wane.

IX. *Enyalius*.

Our only reference to this cult is the bare mention by Thucydides¹³⁹ of the Enyalium which probably stood close to the sea and just outside the Long Walls connecting Nisaea with Megara.

¹³² Farnell, *Cults*, V, p. 118. His character as tree-god was aboriginal (*Ibid.* p. 240).

¹³³ Preller-Robert, *op. cit.* p. 708.

¹³⁴ *Etymol. Mag.* s. v. Δασύλλιος.

¹³⁵ Paus. I, 40, 6. The epithet is found in Plutarch (*De ei apud Delph.* 388 f.) and Ovid (*Metam.* IV. 15).

¹³⁶ Farnell, *op. cit.* V, 128. The *Etymol. Mag.* (s. v. Νυκτέλιος) explains it as meaning "worshipped at night." Heracleitus (frag. 127, Byw.) identifies Dionysus and Hades.

¹³⁷ Thuc. IV, 67, 118. See Casson, *B. S. A.* XIX, p. 71.

¹³⁸ Hall, *op. cit.* p. 521. But Kalinka, *l. c.* p. 413, points out that Poseidon was originally a divinity of the earth associated sometimes with Demeter, sometimes with Athena, inherited from the pre-Hellenic populace of the mainland and later by the Greeks transformed into a divinity of the sea. ¹³⁹ Thuc. IV, 67; Casson, *l. c.*

X. *The Ilithyiae*.¹⁴⁰

The temple was near the old gymnasium and apparently associated closely with the pillar of Apollo Carinus. This name was originally an abstract singular which later became pluralized.¹⁴¹ We have here, then, the personification of an abstract idea and consequent deification. Of similar origin are the goddesses Tyche and Hygieia.

XI. *Tyche*.¹⁴²

The cult-statue was made by Praxiteles. Although Pausanias does not mention a cult-epithet, it is probable that she was worshipped in the usual sense of a goddess of plenty, for the coins¹⁴³ of Megara represent her wearing a mural crown and holding a patera and cornucopia. She stands beside or facing an altar. This representation may have been based upon the statue of Praxiteles, but the device of the mural crown is probably late although not necessarily a product of Roman influence. For the Greeks were well acquainted with the idea of Tyche in her general aspects as well as in application to cities, and her temples were found in many places.¹⁴⁴ It is quite possible that Megara's commercial prosperity, which was at its height during the seventh and sixth centuries, had much to do with developing the personality of this early abstraction.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ Paus. I, 44, 2.

¹⁴¹ In Homer both the singular and plural forms of the word are found. Originally, *ελθθια* meant "the pangs of childbirth." See Baur, *Eileithyia*, Tübingen, 1901, and Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 299.

¹⁴² Paus. I, 43, 6.

¹⁴³ Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *l. c.* pp. 56 f. Head, *op. cit.* p. 394.

¹⁴⁴ See P. Gardner, *J. H. S.* IX, 1888, pp. 47-88, especially pp. 73 f.; Hild in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. s. v. Fortuna*.

¹⁴⁵ Compare Pindar's Twelfth Olympian Ode. Tyche is mentioned only occasionally by the ancient writers. In Hesiod (*Theog.* 360) she is a daughter of Oceanus; in the Hom. Hymn. to Dem. (420) she is a play-mate of Persephone; in Theognis (129 f.) she is good fortune, to be pursued in preference to *ἀρετή* and *ἀφθονία*.

XII. *The Twelve Gods*.¹⁴⁶

They had no separate temple, but statues of them had been made by Praxiteles¹⁴⁷ and set up in the temple of Artemis Savior. Such worship of the divine Canon was likewise found at Athens and Thelpusa.¹⁴⁸

XIII. *The Προδομεῖς Θεοί*.¹⁴⁹

In honor of these divinities an *ἑστία* had been erected along the road leading up the acropolis Alcathoa and near to the Ringing Stone. There has been considerable discussion of the meaning of the epithet. Siebelius would substitute for it *Πρόδομοι*, since the singular form *Προδομεῖς* is not otherwise found. This would make *Θεοὶ Πρόδομοι* = *Θεοὶ Προπύλαιοι* or *Προθύραιοι*; hence, Höfer¹⁵⁰ concludes that by *Θεοὶ Προδομεῖς* were meant divinities such as Artemis and Hecate. Frazer¹⁵¹ translates the word "builders before," and Hitzig-Blümner¹⁵² understand it to represent the gods invoked before the building was started. Farnell¹⁵³ suggests that these *Θεοὶ Προδομεῖς* may have been a group of homeless "functional" *Δαίμονες*, who must be appeased before a city could be built,

¹⁴⁶ Paus. I, 40, 3.

¹⁴⁷ On the basis of Pausanias' remark, *ἔργα εἶναι λεγόμενα Πραξιτέλους*, it has been argued by Klein, *Arch. Epigr. Mitt. Öst.* IV, 1880, pp. 12 ff. and Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*,⁴ I, p. 500, that these statues were the work of the elder Praxiteles, supposed grandfather of the famous Praxiteles. But as Praxiteles made other statues for Megara (Paus. I, 43, 5, 6; 44, 2) the expression *λεγόμενα* probably only indicates that the signature of the sculptor was omitted. Cf. Frazer, *ad loc.*

¹⁴⁸ In the Colonnade of Zeus at Athens, Euphranor had painted the Twelve Gods (Paus. I, 3, 3), and at Thelpusa in Arcadia there was a temple to them (Paus. VIII, 25, 3).

¹⁴⁹ Paus. I, 42, 1.

¹⁵⁰ In Roscher's *Lexikon*, III,² p. 2998.

¹⁵¹ Paus. I, p. 63.

¹⁵² Note *ad loc.* So also Girard, *De Megarensium Ingenio*, p. 17, n. 5.

¹⁵³ Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 75.

but rather inclines to the explanation that they were the deities whose statues "stood before the houses," that is, Apollo, Artemis, or Hecate. The *Etymologicum Magnum* ¹⁵⁴ states that the Θεοὶ Προδομεῖς were associated with the πρόδομος or πρόδομον (= αἶθουσα of Homer).

The context of the Pausanias passage requires a meaning for Προδομεῖς which will connect it with the gods of the city life, just as is suggested by the *Etymologicum Magnum*. Alcathous is represented as coming from Elis to build (i. e., re-build) the walls of Megara. Apollo, as divine Οἰκιστής, assists him.¹⁵⁵ Hence, in accordance with the practice in founding a colony, a sacred ἑστία must be set up as the center of the new community life. Our passage probably means, then, that Alcathous here established an ἑστία to the gods of the city hearth, represented pre-eminently by Apollo,¹⁵⁶ and we may consequently interpret the epithet as meaning the gods "of the public hearth."

XIV. *The Sithnidian Nymphs.*¹⁵⁷

There seems to have been a cult of these divinities, although we are not told specifically that formal worship was offered to them. The water nymphs seldom had temples as such, but a spring-house like this famous structure built by Theagenes would be a natural monument to them. In fact, their worship must have been of considerable importance, since legend declared that Megarus was the son of a Sithnidian nymph and Zeus. We have already mentioned the Gate of the Nymphs, through which the road led to Nisaea; and an inscription of the fourth century A. D. speaks of some

¹⁵⁴ *Etymol. Mag.* s. v. Πρόδομος.

¹⁵⁵ When Byzas erected the walls of Byzantium Poseidon and Apollo helped him: Hesych. Miles. *F. H. G.* IV, pp. 148 f.

¹⁵⁶ The god of the family-cult had an altar standing in the courtyard of the early Greek house (Farnell, *Higher Aspects of Greek Religion*, pp. 29 f.). The gods so worshipped were commonly Zeus, Apollo and Athena.

¹⁵⁷ Paus. I, 40, I. Cf. 44, 2.

repairs to the πόρος Νυμφῶν. Votive reliefs represent the worship of the Nymphs and Achelous.¹⁵⁸

XV. *Asclepius and Hygieia*.¹⁵⁹

These divinities, who were commonly grouped together, seem to have been worshipped only by statues in the open air and not by temples, as at Athens and Epidaurus. Their statues were erected near, or on the summit of, the acropolis Caria, a location characteristic of Asclepius worship. We have already argued against Robert's view that Pausanias' mention of ἀγάλματα here implies a temple.¹⁶⁰ Late coins¹⁶¹ represent the two divinities together.

XVI. *The Oracle of Night*.¹⁶²

This was located in the midst of a group of temples situated along the road leading to the top of the acropolis Caria. It was apparently near the temples of Dionysus Nyctelius and Zeus Conius. Rohde¹⁶³ would connect this oracle with Dionysus who, according to his belief, preceded Apollo at Delphi as interpreter by means of the tripod. Hall¹⁶⁴ would see in such an oracle the old non-Indo-European stratum of religion.

XVII. *Pan*.¹⁶⁵

His statue was found in the temple of Zeus Aphesius, and on a relief to the nymphs (See following cult) he is represented as stooping and peering into a cave as he plays upon his syrinx. While the worship of Pan seems to have attained national significance only in Arcadia, we should rather expect

¹⁵⁸ See Höfer in Roscher's *Lexikon*, III,¹ pp. 527-531, and below, *s. v. Achelous*.

¹⁵⁹ Paus. I, 40, 6.

¹⁶⁰ See Chapter I, p. 11.

¹⁶¹ Head, *op. cit.* p. 394. Wroth, *J. H. S.* V, 1884, pp. 82 ff.

¹⁶² Paus. I, 40, 6.

¹⁶³ See Weissäcker in Roscher's *Lexikon*, III,¹ pp. 570-76.

¹⁶⁴ Hall, *Aegean Arch.* p. 149.

¹⁶⁵ Paus. I, 44, 9.

to find it well established in a country such as Megaris famous for its goats and sheep. However, the Pan cult did not penetrate outside-communities, except Athens, before the fourth century B. C.,¹⁶⁶ and by that time Megarian industry was possibly beginning to wane.¹⁶⁷

XVIII. *Hermes and the Nymphs.*

Like Pan, Hermes was worshipped prominently only in Arcadia. In fact, he is frequently grouped in cult with Pan and the Nymphs. But the only evidence for his worship in Megara is a relief¹⁶⁸ representing a cave and made of Pentelic marble. The style points to the fourth century B. C. In the center is represented a round altar about which Hermes and three Nymphs are dancing toward the left. Hermes is clad in short himation and wears the petasos. His right hand is held out before him as if it grasped the herald-staff, while his left hand appears to hold the corner of a garment, perhaps his chlamys. The other corner is held by one of the nymphs. A second nymph seems to stand in the background, between Hermes and the nymph just mentioned, as a spectator. Her right hand is under her cloak, while her left grasps the chiton of the leading nymph. A third nymph accompanies the dance led by the first on the right, her left arm propped on her hip. On the rocky edge projecting over the cave at the lower left-hand corner is the head of Achelous more than life-size. Above it is the form of Pan stooping and peering into the cave as he plays upon his syrinx. Such cave-worship belongs to the primeval, pastoral character of Hermes, and in this capacity he was probably regarded as a pasture god.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Farnell, *Cults*, V, p. 432.

¹⁶⁷ See however Ch. XIV, p. 196 f. below.

¹⁶⁸ See Svoronos-Barth in *Das Athener National-Museum*, Heft 17-18, p. 449, Pl. LXXIII. A similar relief was found at Athens on Mt. Parnes. See 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1905, p. 102, and Farnell, *Cults*, V, p. 35 and Pl. V.

¹⁶⁹ Farnell, *op. cit.* V, 10. In the *Acharnians*, 742, the Megarian swears by Hermes 'Αγοραῖος.

XIX. *Isis*.¹⁷⁰

We are not told at what time the cult of Isis was introduced, but it was probably late. She is represented on the coins of Pagae;¹⁷¹ sometimes in a temple holding sistrum and vase, or standing and facing Asclepius.

XX. *Pandion*.¹⁷²

An ἡρώων was built in his honor near the temple of Apollo and Artemis, but tradition said that his grave stood on the rock of Athena Aithuia along the sea.¹⁷³

XXI. *Tereus*.¹⁷⁴

His grave, a τάφος, was close to that of his father-in-law Pandion. The Megarians claimed that Tereus had been king of Pagae; but that when he had tried in vain to capture the women who had killed Itys, he came to Megara and there took his life. The people raised a mound over his body and thereafter sacrificed to him each year using pebbles in place of barleycorns. And there it is, they say, that the hoopoe appeared for the first time.

This story suggests that while the Megarians appropriated the Tereus myth they altered it to suit local conditions. According to the usual legend¹⁷⁵ Tereus was a Thracian prince who ruled in Daulis in Phocis; and when he was about to overtake the fleeing Philomela and Procne, the former was

¹⁷⁰ Paus. I, 41, 3.

¹⁷¹ See Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *l. c.* p. 50. For Isis worship in Greece see Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, II, pp. 111-119. Cf. A. Rusch, *De Serapide et Iside in Graecia Cultis*, p. 31.

¹⁷² Paus. I, 41, 6.

¹⁷³ Paus. I, 5, 3; 39, 4; 41, 6. Cf. above, p. 45.

¹⁷⁴ Paus. I, 41, 8.

¹⁷⁵ See Paus. I, 5, 4; X, 4, 9; Thuc. II, 29; Arist. *Hist. Anim.* IX, 49 (633 a); Aesch. *Supp.* 60; Hyginus, *Fab.* 45. E. Oder, *Rh. Mus.* N. F. XLIII, 1888, pp. 541-56, thinks that the original story made Tereus a hawk and not a hoopoe. Cf. also Frazer on Paus. I, 41, 8; and see in general, Thompson, *op. cit.* pp. 54 ff.

changed into a swallow, the latter into a nightingale, and he himself into a hoopoe or hawk.

XXII. *Alcathous*.¹⁷⁶

The reputed racial ancestor of the Megarian state would naturally be given heroic worship. Furthermore, his ἡρώων served as a record-office. Grouped about it were the graves of Pyrgo, his first wife, and of Iphinoe, his daughter. The latter died when she was still a virgin, and to her the young Megarian women sacrificed of their hair before marriage.

XXIII. *Adrastus*.¹⁷⁷

Local tradition claimed that Adrastus died in Megara from old age and grief over the death of his son Aegialeus, after he had returned from the siege of Thebes. His cult was found in Megara and Sicyon and slightly in Attica. The worship of Adrastus at Megara was probably due to the influence of the Epic. His personality belongs to the human-historic saga.¹⁷⁸ To the same circle of influence belonged the worship of Aegialeus at Pagae, and of Autonoe in the village Erenia, northeast of Megara. In the second expedition against Thebes Aegialeus died in battle at Glisas, near Thebes, and his body was carried by his companions to Pagae for burial.¹⁷⁹ Autonoe, daughter of Cadmus, fled to Megaris because of the misfortune to her father's house on account of the death of her son, Actaeon.¹⁸⁰ The saga of Actaeon seems to have been native along the coast of Boeotia.¹⁸¹

XXIV. *Ino-Leucothea*.¹⁸²

This cult was indigenous in Boeotia and was probably spread through the Minyan stock and Creto-Carian in-

¹⁷⁶ Paus. I, 43, 4; Plut. *Ages.* 27.

¹⁷⁷ Paus. I, 43, 1; Dieuchidas *F. H. G.* IV, p. 389, frag. 3.

¹⁷⁸ Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 335.

¹⁷⁹ His grave was called the Aegialeum (Paus. I, 44, 4; IX, 19, 2).

¹⁸⁰ Paus. I, 44, 5.

¹⁸¹ Preller-Robert, *op. cit.* p. 458.

¹⁸² Paus. I, 42, 7.

fluences.¹⁸³ Ino was the daughter of Cadmus, but as early as Homer¹⁸⁴ she had become a sea divinity. However, she is to be regarded primarily as an earth-born, vegetation heroine-goddess of Boeotia.¹⁸⁵ As *κουροτρόφος* she was interested in the rearing and nurture of children and was thus associated with the infant Melicertes. But the epithet *Λευκοθέα* is not easy to explain. Megarian tradition said that it was given to her because she had leaped into the sea from the Molurian cliff near which was the *καλῆς δρόμος*.¹⁸⁶ Now *Λευκοθέα* seems to have been her official name in the inland Boeotian cults of Thebes and Chaeronea. Perhaps the story of her leap into the sea is an hieratic legend, since it is told of Dionysus, Aphrodite and various heroic personages such as Sappho. As Ino received the epithet *Λευκοθέα* after her leap, it may refer to her purification in the water and may mean "White Goddess." Or Ino may be her pre-Hellenic name, Leucothea her Hellenic equivalent. This aspect of the cult may possibly be associated with early Megarian commerce.

In legend Ino was closely associated with Melicertes, who had the epithet Palaemon. Probably the latter was his Hellenic equivalent, while Melicertes was the pre-Hellenic name. However, it is only on the Isthmus at Corinth that we find this cult-epithet Palaemon.¹⁸⁷

XXV. *Alcmena*.¹⁸⁸

According to the common tradition, Alcmena had come from Tiryns,¹⁸⁹ and the Megarian account does not seem to differ from it materially. The latter said that she died in Megara

¹⁸³ Farnell, *op. cit.* p. 47.

¹⁸⁴ Homer, *Od.* V, 335.

¹⁸⁵ Farnell, *op. cit.* p. 36.

¹⁸⁶ Plutarch, *Symp.* V, 675.

¹⁸⁷ For the discussion see Farnell, *op. cit.* pp. 35-47. In Euripides' *Iph. Taur.* 270, Melicertes-Palaemon is called "protector of ships," and in the Corinthian cult Poseidon, Leucothea, and Palaemon were associated (Usener, *Die Sintflutsagen*, pp. 149 ff.).

¹⁸⁸ Paus. I, 41, 1.

¹⁸⁹ Farnell, *op. cit.* p. 106.

as she was on her way from Argos to Thebes. It seems, then, that her cult may have reached Megara from Thebes or Argos during the pre-Dorian period.¹⁹⁰ Such an heroic ancestress as Alcmæna is not frequently found in the Greek states, but there is no evidence that matriarchy is at work here,¹⁹¹ as Seeliger thought.¹⁹²

XXVI. *Iphigenia*.¹⁹³

The honors paid to Iphigenia seem to be the result of her association with the saga-genealogy of the line of Agamemnon. It is to be noted, however, that she is not here associated with Artemis, as often.¹⁹⁴ Nevertheless, we are told that Agamemnon built a temple to Artemis when he visited Megara. Pausanias calls attention to the variation between the common account and the Megarian story, and states that Hesiod placed Iphigenia in his Catalogue of deathless women. The main influence at work, however, was doubtless the desire on the part of the Megarians to be connected with the Heroic circle.

XXVII. *Diocles*.

In his honor public games, the *Διόκλεια*, were celebrated. These were as important at Megara as were the Pythia and Eleusinia elsewhere.¹⁹⁵ According to Megarian belief,¹⁹⁶ Diocles was a Megarian ruler of Eleusis. But the Alexandrine tradition¹⁹⁷ claimed that he was an Athenian who had fled to Megara for some cause and had become a hero after dying in defense of a boy friend. Seeliger¹⁹⁸ thinks that

¹⁹⁰ Farnell, *op. cit.* p. 111.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Farnell, *op. cit.* p. 358.

¹⁹² Seeliger, *Alkathoos u. die Megarische Königsliste*, *passim*.

¹⁹³ Paus. I, 43, 1.

¹⁹⁴ Farnell, *op. cit.* p. 58.

¹⁹⁵ Schol. on Pindar, *Ol.* XIII, 155.

¹⁹⁶ Plut. *Thes.* 10.

¹⁹⁷ Schol. on Theocr. XII, 27-33; Schol. on Aristoph. *Acharn.* 774.

Cf. Hiller v. Gaertringen in Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v. Diokles*, 1, 2.

¹⁹⁸ Seeliger, *op. cit.* pp. 32 f.

"from Athens" means "from Eleusis" and that, since in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter¹⁹⁹ Diocles is called a pupil of Demeter, the Eleusinian and Megarian Diocles are one and the same individual. By the time of Pausanias, Diocles seems to have been crowded out by the eponymous hero of the acropolis Alcathoa. Perhaps he lingered on as the hero of the suppressed Ionian population. In any case he belongs to the Heroic age. His name appears frequently as an element in Megarian proper names. In the *Acharnians*²⁰⁰ the Megarian swears by Diocles.

The Diocleia were held at the beginning of spring, at the time when at Athens the recollection of Deucalion's flood was celebrated.²⁰¹ The prize is said to have been a crown of flowers and was presented to the boy who gave the sweetest kiss.²⁰² Boeckh²⁰³ and Reinganum,²⁰⁴ however, maintain that we must not limit such a contest to kissing but must extend it to contests in general such as the ones in which Diocles was victorious. But if we are to judge by the elegies of Theognis,²⁰⁵ boy-love was as common at Megara as in other parts of Greece, and the osculatory contest at the games may have constituted no insignificant part. Hiller von Gaertringen,²⁰⁶ however, thinks that all these stories were told simply to explain the origin of the festival and are therefore aetiological.

¹⁹⁹ *Hom. H.* 474, 153. But the text varies, giving Διοκλῆς in one place, Διοκλος in the other. The reference is to the same person, however, as Διοκλος is the older form, Διοκλῆς the later (Usener, *op. cit.* pp. 51 ff.).

²⁰⁰ Aristoph. *Acharn.* 774: καὶ τὸν Διοκλέα. The scholiast here describes the worship of the hero Diocles at Megara.

²⁰¹ Schol. on Pind. *Nem.* III, 145; Schol. on Theocr. XII, 30. Cf. Usener, *op. cit.* pp. 51 ff.

²⁰² Theocr. XII, 27-33.

²⁰³ On Pindar, *Ol.* VII, 86.

²⁰⁴ Reinganum, *op. cit.* p. 142.

²⁰⁵ See *Eleg.* B. 1249 ff.

²⁰⁶ In Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v. Diokles*, I. For the subject of Diokles in general, see further Stoll in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I,¹ p. 1021.

XXVIII. *Melampus*.²⁰⁷

Melampus, the famous seer, was worshipped particularly in Aegosthena, where a temple was erected to him. The cult-statue was represented by a stele, less than life-size, on which the figure was carved in relief. Melampus was probably a priest or prophet who was later exalted to hero-worship.²⁰⁸ His school of seers, the Melampodidae, was the most famous in Greece and took precedence, both in point of time and importance, over the Asclepiadae. For it was Melampus who is said to have introduced the worship of Dionysus into the Peloponnesus, bringing it south from Thessaly in prehistoric times.²⁰⁹ His connection with Megara, slight as it was, resulted from the work of his great-grandson, Polyidus, who, as we have related above,²¹⁰ came to purify Alcathous after the latter had slain his son. Polyidus, we are told, dedicated the temple to Dionysus Patrous in Megara. The graves of Asty-cratia and Manto, daughters of Polyidus, were at the entrance to this temple. No doubt the flourishing grape industry of Aegosthena²¹¹ is to be closely associated with the cult of Melampus.

XXIX. *Achelous*.²¹²

This cult was wide-spread and was probably a recollection of the earliest settlements of the Greeks. Achelous was strictly the name of a river in Aetolia, Acarnania and Thessaly, but came to be used as the designation of any stream or simply, of water. His power, however, was felt as only half-personal, hence a *βωμός* served as the place of his worship. In Megara this worship was intimately connected with the

²⁰⁷ Paus. I, 44, 5.

²⁰⁸ Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 64. An IS. (I. G. VII, 219) calls him a god. For representations of him on the coins see Head, *op. cit.* pp. 392 f.; Imhoof-Blumer-Gardner, *l. c.* p. 58.

²⁰⁹ See in general Halliday, *Greek Divination*, pp. 54-98, especially pp. 61, 95.

²¹⁰ See above, *s. v.* *Dionysus*.

²¹¹ See Chapter I, p. 29, with notes 104, 105.

²¹² Paus. I, 41, 2.

erection of the Fountain-House of the Nymphs and the building of the aqueduct of Theagenes. On the relief of Hermes and the Nymphs²¹³ Achelous was represented, and in the excavations southwest of Megara Mr. Philios²¹⁴ found the head of a man with horns constructed of clay and somewhat similar to the usual representations of Achelous. Among the cedar-wood figures dedicated by the Megarians in their Treasury at Olympia was the representation of Heracles wrestling with Achelous.²¹⁵ But perhaps most impressive of all is the votive relief of Pentelic marble, found at Megara and now in the Berlin Museum, a work belonging to the fourth century B. C. It represents the back of a cave on which is carved the head of Achelous and immediately below a table set for offerings. About the cavern are arranged divinities in a semi-circle. In the center is Zeus and grouped about him are Pan, Core, Demeter (?), Hades (?). Two others, sometimes called Apollo and Aphrodite, may be Megarus and his mother, the Sithnidian nymph. This seems to indicate a chthonic Zeus. The relief is similar to one from the Callirrhoe-basin, and the cult similar to the cult of Zeus on the Ilissus. Hence Cook is probably correct in seeing some influence here of the connection of Theagenes and Cylon.²¹⁶ Megarian proper names²¹⁷ occasionally have the word as one of their elements.

Doubtful Cults.

We may here consider briefly a number of cults, found principally among the Megarian colonies, which are often

²¹³ See above, p. 53.

²¹⁴ See 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1890, p. 34.

²¹⁵ Paus. VI, 19, 12. Cf. Hyde, *Olympic Victor Monuments*, p. 93, n. 9.

²¹⁶ See Cook, *op. cit.* II, ii, pp. 1117 and n. 7; 1138, n. 5. Cf. also below, Ch. VI.

²¹⁷ See Collitz-Bechtel, *S. G. D. I.* No. 3025, s. v. 'Α[ρ]χελοῖς[δ]ωπος. In Aegosthena the form 'Αχέλων is found. See Bechtel, *ad loc.* For Achelous worship see Farnell, *Cults*, V, pp. 421-24; Preller-Robert, pp. 32 f.

considered to be native Megarian, but on insufficient grounds, as it would appear.

The Dioscuri.

The name Πολυδευκίδας occurs in an inscription,²¹⁸ and Λευκιππίδωρος was common in Megara.²¹⁹ The cult of the Tyndaridae is found in Selinus, Chalcedon²²⁰ and especially at Byzantium.^{220a} An inscription of Selinus²²¹ mentions among the gods who brought victory to the Selinuntines, the Τυνδαρίδαι. From this scanty evidence Bechtel²²² thinks that the cult of the Leucippidae was associated with that of the Tyndaridae, as at Sparta. But since we have no reference to the Dioscuri in Megara itself, it is not safe to conclude that such a cult existed in the mother country even though the colonies did have it. As we shall see later, the Megarian colonies in Sicily and on the Black Sea very early began to lead an independent life of their own. The cult of the Heavenly Twins belonged especially to sailors.

Amphiaraus.

We are told by Hesychius Milesius²²³ that Byzas, the eponymous hero of Byzantium, after constructing τεμένη to the gods and βωμοί to the heroes, also built an altar to Amphiaraus. With this statement Dionysius of Byzantium²²⁴ agrees. By these passages Pfister²²⁵ is led to attribute a cult of Amphiaraus to Megara. But Amphiaraus was an Argive

²¹⁸ See Collitz-Bechtel, *op. cit.* No. 3020.

²¹⁹ See Collitz-Bechtel, *op. cit.*, on *IS.* 3025, lines 54 f.

²²⁰ See Gardner, *J. H. S.* VII, 1887, p. 154.

^{220a} See J. Rendel Harris, *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway*, Cambridge, 1914, pp. 547 ff.

²²¹ Collitz-Bechtel, *op. cit.* No. 3046. It is fifth century B. C.

²²² See his comments in *S. G. D. I.* No. 3026.

²²³ See Müller, *F. H. G.* IV, p. 149.

²²⁴ See Müller, *Geogr. Gr. Min.* II, p. 32, frag. 26.

²²⁵ Pfister, *op. cit.* pp. 36 f. Farnell (*Greek Hero Cults*, p. 61) thinks that this reference to the altar of Amphiaraus at Byzantium is doubtful.

and Boeotian seer; hence, if it is true that Boeotians formed a part of the colonizing party sent to Byzantium,²²⁶ just as they did in the case of Chalcedon, it is quite likely that the worship of Amphiaraus came in from Boeotia or Argos, for we do not hear of it in connection with Megara elsewhere.²²⁷

Hipposthenes.

Dionysius of Byzantium²²⁸ mentions the grave of the hero Hipposthenes in Byzantium and calls him a Megarian. But this designation may have been given because the Megarians were the most numerous of the colonists that established the new city, and Pfister²²⁹ is doubtless correct in questioning his connection with the mother city. We hear²³⁰ of a certain Hipposthenes of Lacedaemon, who was a noted wrestler, and who received divine honors in his native land. Furthermore, a Megarian by the name of Hippomenes defeated Atalanta in the foot-race and became her husband, according to one story.²³¹ Pfister would therefore make the Hipposthenes mentioned by Dionysius the same individual as this Hippomenes, since μένος = σθένος and the first elements of each name are identical. Furthermore, since Hippomenes is called the son of Megareus of Onchestus, the above identification would refer him to Boeotia, the probable source of his worship.

Schoiniclus.

Dionysius²³² mentions this hero's grave as being close to the tomb of Hipposthenes but adds that his worship was brought from Megara. The principle is no doubt the same here as in the case of Hipposthenes. We probably have in the cults of Amphiaraus, Hipposthenes and Schoiniclus a

²²⁶ Const. Porphy. *De. Them.* 2, p. 46, ed. Bonn.

²²⁷ Pfister, *op. cit.* p. 43, recognizes this possibility.

²²⁸ See Müller, *Geogr. Gr. Min.* II, p. 32, frag. 24.

²²⁹ Pfister, *op. cit.* pp. 36 f.

²³⁰ Paus. III, 15, 7; V, 8, 9.

²³¹ Theocr. III, 40; Apollod. III, 9, 8; Ovid, *Metam.* X, 606 ff.

²³² Müller, *Geogr. Gr. Min.* I. c.

group whose influence was carried over to Byzantium by the Boeotian element among the colonists.

Saron.

Dionysius ²³³ mentions the alter of Saron, a Megarian hero, on the bay called Bathycolpus. This Saron was in late times considered the eponymous hero of the Saronic Gulf,²³⁴ but originally he was a mythical king of Troezen in Argolis. Probably, then, Argive tradition is the early source of his worship which was later carried over to Byzantium. In any case, the story of Saron appears to have been localized near Troezen,²³⁵ and not, as Pfister ²³⁶ says, on the coast of Megara.

Hera.

Again Dionysius ²³⁷ seems to be our only authority for the statement that Hera was worshipped by the Megarians in Byzantium. We hear, however, of the temple of Hera near Cape Olmiae on the northwest shore of Megaris, but Pausanias does not mention it, and Strabo states that it did not exist in his day.²³⁸ The latter speaks of the oracle of Hera Acraea, which was an old structure. In this connection it is interesting to recall that one of the early tribes of Megaris was called the 'Hpaëis'.²³⁹

Summary.

The above survey has given us a total of twenty-five temples dedicated to the gods, thereby making Megara the fifth city in Greece in the number of its religious monuments.²⁴⁰ We have also met a number of *heroa* and other sacred shrines.

²³³ *op. cit.* frag. 43.

²³⁴ Steph. Byz. s. v. Σάρων; *Etymol. Mag.* s. v. Σαρωνίς.

²³⁵ Steph. Byz. l. c.; Eustathius on *Iliad*, II, 561. Cf. Löwy, *op. cit.* p. 173.

²³⁶ Pfister, *op. cit.* p. 41.

²³⁸ Strabo, VIII, 380.

²³⁷ Dionys. Byz. *Hist. Gk.* III, 2. ²³⁹ See Chapter III, p. 66.

²⁴⁰ Cf. Hussey in *A. J. A.* VI, 1890, p. 63, who gives Megara twenty-six temples; but in this number the sanctuary of Melampus

All the major divinities, with the probable exception of Hera, were worshipped in cults. Various influences seem to have been at work in building up the Megarian pantheon—influences that began in early pre-Dorian days and continued into late times. Thus Megara became cosmopolitan in its religious sympathies. The cults of Zeus, Demeter, Artemis and Athena reveal the earlier aspects of the worship of these deities of whom all but the first, along with Poseidon, were probably pre-Hellenic.²⁴¹ With the coming of Alcathous we have seen the introduction of Apollo worship, which soon surpassed all others. Such fervent worship of Apollo is an indication of strong Indo-European-Hellenic feeling.²⁴² But many other forces were at work also. The desire on the part of the Megarians to connect themselves with the Heroic Age no doubt contributed largely to the introduction of such personalities as Agamemnon, Ajax and Iphigenia into the native tradition. From the Theban circle came Adrastus, Aegialeus, Autonoe and perhaps Alcmena. Boeotia also contributed the story of Megareus and Ino. Callipolis, son of Alcathous, is said to have gone on the Calydonian Boar Hunt in Aetolia. Thus Megara was connected with three of the four great Greek legends.²⁴³

must be included. According to Hussey, the Greek cities ranked as follows in the number of their temples: Sparta 84, Athens 71, Argos 36, Megalopolis 32, Megara 26, Sicyon and Hermione 23, Olympia and Corinth 17, Thebes 16. It seems illogical, however, to conclude from this, as does Hussey, that such ranking would also indicate relative population. The building of temples to the gods was mainly dependent upon the religious zeal and wealth of the state. It may be due largely to a lack of the latter that Megara did not have even more temples. Contrast her splendid Treasury at Olympia, an early building of the time of her prosperity, with the humble base-ment at Delphi; see Dinsmoor, *B. C. H.* XXXVI, 1912, p. 466.

²⁴¹ See Kalinka, *l. c.* pp. 407 ff.

²⁴² Hall, *op. cit.* p. 420; Müller, *Dorians* I, p. 228, claims that Apollo was peculiarly the tribal god of the Dorians.

²⁴³ In consideration of Megara's early commercial activities in the

We should expect to find considerable Athenian influence, but probably the later enmity between the two states prevented this. We do have, however, the story of Pandion and Tereus, and references to the deeds of Theseus. Eleusis is influential in the worship of Demeter and the story of Diocles. Thessaly probably contributed the cult of Melampus. But often it is impossible to determine the actual forces at work in the case of some of the myths, and no doubt several motives contributed. Such influences as local patriotism, the ambition of aristocratic families, the aetiological myth, and the antagonism of cults²⁴⁴ are frequently seen in the stories. Then, too, the Delphic oracle may have played a considerable part in reviving hero-worship, as Poulsen²⁴⁵ has suggested. But a startling omission is the absence of any notable worship of Heracles.²⁴⁶

region of the Black Sea, it is rather remarkable that she had no myths connected with the Argonautic Expedition.

²⁴⁴ This may account for the absence of the cult of Hera. Her religion was antagonistic to the cult of Eleusis and never had any connection with the oracle of Delphi. See Farnell, *Cults*, I, p. 193.

²⁴⁵ Poulsen, *Delphi*, p. 30, points out that such hero-worship had been greatly weakened by the rationalism of the Ionic philosophers.

²⁴⁶ A statue of Heracles and a *σύνοδος* Ἡρακλ[εῖ]ων is mentioned at Pagae (*I. G.* VII, 192). An Heracleum is mentioned in a late inscription of Aegosthena (*I. G.* VII, 213. The time is about 212 B. C.). This town was now independent of Megara, but even here the cult seems not to have been prominent. Heraclea, a Megarian colony on the Black Sea, was named after Heracles and considered him its patron hero (Paus. V, 26, 7). But this may have been due to the Boeotian element in the colony (Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, p. 132). Only traces of Heracles are to be seen at Chalcedon (Xen. *Hell.* I, 3, 7; Bechtel, *S. G. D. I.* No. 3050a), Selinus (Collitz-Bechtel, *op. cit.* No. 3058; Müller, *Dorians*, I,² p. 121, n. 6; II,² p. 231, n. 2). But the Hylleis, one of the early Megarian tribes, seem to have carried with them wherever they went the idea of their ancestor Heracles (Farnell, *op. cit.* pp. 128, 134). And in Megara we have mentioned the grave of Alcmena. This city also claimed that, before the time of Alexander the Great, Heracles was the only outsider who had been honored with citizenship (Plutarch, *De Mon., Dem. et Arist.* IX, pp. 285 f., R.).

CHAPTER III

THE MYTHICAL KINGS AND THE HEROIC AGE

When man first appeared in Megaris we cannot say. But very likely he was there as early as Neolithic times,¹ since we know that at least two sites in Corinthia go back to this period,² and such fertile districts as the plain about Megara were all too scarce in the Aegean area. At any rate there are indications of Bronze Age settlements here as at Eleusis, Athens, and Corinth.³ And very early Megaris must have become a rival of Corinthia for the traffic passing from the Aegean over the Isthmus to the north, although the Corinthian route was safer and easier than that over Mt. Gerania.⁴

Tradition speaks of five Megarian village communities, the Ἡραεῖς, Πιραιεῖς, Μεγαρεῖς, Κυνοσுρπεῖς, Τριποδισκαῖοι.⁵ There was also a village organization of Attica before the time of Theseus,⁶ during the régime of Cecrops and the first kings. And it seems likely that from early times Megara was the leading town, since Strabo states that, when later the Dorians appeared, Megara became their center.⁷ Her inland location and her double acropolis would insure safety at all times.

¹ Obsidian knives were found at Minoa and Nisaea, but unfortunately the stratification had been disturbed (Bölte and Weicker, *Ath. Mitt.* XIX, 1904, pp. 79 ff.).

² See Blegen, *A. J. A.* XXIV, 1920, pp. 1 ff.

³ Early Helladic pottery belonging to the type found at Korakou and distributed over southeastern Greece as well as the adjacent islands, with an offshoot in Thessaly, has been found at Megara (Bölte and Weicker, *l. c.* p. 95; Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 111, n. 8, 112). This would be 2500-2000 B. C.

⁴ On the Corinthian route see Blegen, as cited in note 1.

⁵ Plutarch, *Qu. Gr.* 17; Strabo, IX, 394. For their location see Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, I, p. 372.

⁶ Thuc. II, 15: ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐς Θησέα ἀεὶ κατὰ πόλεις ᾤκειτο. At least eleven early settlements flourished in the neighborhood of Corinth (Blegen, *A. J. A.* XXIV, 1920, pp. 1 ff.).

⁷ Strabo, IX, 393; VIII, 333. In spite of the above traditions and the archaeological evidence, Wade-Gery, *Camb. Anc. History*, II,

The beginnings of Megara are thus prehistoric. Myth also gives us a list of early kings⁸ most of whom are rather dim personalities; and this list is further complicated by the fact that there are many lines of tradition embedded in it—native Megarian, Boeotian, Athenian, Argive, and Thessalian. Hence, any attempt to set forth the probable course of events during the prehistoric period must be guided by the principle that the Megarian state did not begin in a simple way, but rather that it came to be such as we find it in historical times as the result of various influences, both internal and external, political and religious, which were at work during considerable periods of time. We shall now give an account of these myths and try to interpret their meaning, in the belief that altogether they contain a large element of his-

1924, p. 534, makes this strange statement: "Megara is remarkable for one thing, in her, alone (?) of Dorian states, there is no trace of any distinction between Dorians and pre-Dorians. Perhaps this was due to generous treatment: *perhaps there were no pre-Dorians.*" The italics are mine. Strabo also claimed that Megara was established by the Dorians.

⁸ The most important special treatises on the mythical kings are the following:

G. Vogt, *De Rebus Megarensium usque ad Bella Persica*, Marburg, 1857.

J. Holle, "Megara im mythischen Zeitalter," *Programm des Gymnasiums zu Rechlinghausen*, 1880-81, pp. 3-25.

K. Seeliger, "Alkathoos u. die Megarische Königsliste," *Festschrift für J. Overbeck*, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 27-44.

F. Pfister, *Die mythische Königsliste von Megara u. ihr Verhältnis zum Kult. u. zur topographischen Bezeichnung*, Naumburg, 1907. Reprinted in his *Reliquienkult im Altertum*, Giessen, 1909, pp. 1-50.

J. Girard, *De Megarensium Ingenio*, Paris 1854, pp. 11-25.

H. Reinganum, *Das alte Megaris*, Berlin, 1825, also discusses the kings *passim*.

The kings are discussed briefly in the general works on Greek history, antiquities, and cults, and in the special articles in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*. Throughout the present chapter the works listed above will be cited simply by giving their authors' names unless otherwise indicated.

torical truth, although it will not always be possible to determine the precise value of the individual story in itself.

Car.

According to local tradition the first king was Car, son of Phoroneus.⁹ He built a temple to Demeter and from it, the *Μέγαρον*, called the people *Μεγαρείς*. The hill which he had previously fortified he called after himself *Καρία*. This is the acropolis Caria that we studied in Chapter I. The myth, no doubt, contains a considerable element of truth and probably reflects the period when the Carians of Asia Minor established themselves on the coast of Megaris.¹⁰

⁹ Paus. I, 39, 5. Steph. Byz. s. v. *Καρία*. Phoroneus was likewise considered the first ruler of Argos (Paus. II, 15, 5), and was said to have first organized mankind into the form of a state. For a discussion of the Argive genealogy see Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, I, pp. 32-38. The fact that both Megara and Argos claimed Phoroneus in its genealogical list is important, since some authorities have claimed that Megara was colonized from Argos. See further Chapter IV. Pfister (pp. 10, 11, with notes 19 and 21) on the basis of etymology would connect Car and Erechtheus with Demeter and Athena in a relationship that may be expressed by the proportion, Car : Demeter = Erechtheus : Athena. That is, the first two are early male and female divinities of fertility in Megara just as the last two are in early Athens. Furthermore, he claims that the form *Kāpes* (the people) is not in any sense connected with *Kāp* (the king). For in *Kāpes* the *a* is long, whereas in *Kāp* it must originally have been short but became long under the influence of the tone. The aetiological explanation, however, seems to be more in harmony with the practice of antiquity; and besides, the ancients when bent on etymologizing would hardly be disturbed by the quantity of a vowel, as numerous examples of popular etymology readily prove.

¹⁰ Homer (*Il.* II, 867) describes the Carians as βαρβαρόφωνοι (Cf. Hdt. VIII, 135); they are allies of the Trojans, and their city is Miletus. Herodotus (I, 171) and Thucydides (I, 4, 8) state that they were a pre-Minoan people, and the latter adds that they were islanders of the Aegean. But Burrows, *The Discoveries in Crete*, p. 143, would make them Late Minoan. In the fifth century B. C. opinions differed whether they were originally islanders or mainlanders. The later Carians of Caria, however, claimed autochthony

Later generations, therefore, in attempting to reconstruct this early period postulated a king or leader Car in conformity with the principle of the aetiological myth. Consequently, while we can accept as historical the presence of the Carians on the Megarian coast,¹¹ a king named Car is no doubt the invention of later generations or of the later genealogists. It is very probable, likewise, that the myth reflects the true relationship between the worship of Demeter and the first permanent settlements at Megara; for we know that her worship was very old both in Megara and elsewhere.¹²

Eleven Generations.

Between Car and the next king who is definitely named there occurs a break in the tradition, and to fill the intervening space apparently eleven generations¹³ were inserted

where they lived, and either ignored or had forgotten their insular expansion. According to the Cretans (Hdt. l. c.) they had once been subjects of Minos and served on his ships. See Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, I, pp. 182-194; Myres, *J. H. S.* XXVI, 1906, pp. 107-109; Dunham, *The History of Miletus*, pp. 31-43. Giles, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* II, pp. 10, 26 f., Hogarth, *ibid.* pp. 553 ff., have a good recent account of Caro-Lelegan civilization. Bölte and Weicker (*Ath. Mitt.* XXIX, 1904, p. 99) suggest that future excavation about "Nisaea" (i. e. Minoa) may tell us more about the Carians. But it is not well to dogmatize regarding such specific names as "Carians" and "Leleges." Cf. Buck, *Cl. Phil.* XXI, 1926, p. 8, n. 2. The name *Kapla* has been explained by some as a Semitic loan-word. See H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, pp. 141 f., and Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odysée*, I, p. 207. But in all such cases the assumption is that Megara was a typical Semitic (Phoenician) place of settlement originally and that the various myths, such as we are now considering, were later invented to explain the meaning of these Semitic words. Cf. below, Ch. V, note 2.

¹¹ So Holm, *Hist. of Greece*, I, pp. 63 ff.; Duncker, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, V, p. 24.

¹² See Chapter II, s. v. *Demeter*.

¹³ So Holle (p. 25) and Pfister (p. 3). But Reinganum (p. 118) and Girard (p. 12) think it is 12 generations; and Vogt (p. 10)

by the genealogists to bring their list of kings into harmony with that of Argos.¹⁴ Pausanias offers no explanation.

Lelex.

In the twelfth generation after Car, Lelex came from Egypt. He was the son of Poseidon and Libya. During his reign the people were called Leleges.¹⁵ This myth is very similar to that of Car and no doubt was constructed on the same principle. At an early time the Leleges¹⁶ were probably

and Seeliger (p. 31) understand 10. Pausanias (I, 39, 6) says: *δωδεκάτη δὲ ὕστερον μετὰ Κᾶρα τὸν Φορωνέως γενεᾷ κ. τ. λ.*

¹⁴ Cf. Bury, *Hist. of Greece*, pp. 62 f., 855, who apparently follows Wilamowitz, *Euripides' Herakles*, I², pp. 14 ff., in accepting the Argive claim of being the premier Dorian state of the Peloponnesus. Accordingly, Megara is considered a colony of Argos. Cf. note 9 above and see Chapter IV. As can be readily seen from the genealogical table at the end of this chapter, the insertion of eleven generations thus brings the Megarian and Heraean tradition at Argos into harmony with respect to the number of generations after Phoroneus; for from Car to Hyperion, son of Agamemnon, are twenty generations, and from the daughter of Phoroneus to Agamemnon are twenty generations. Cf. the genealogical table given by Waldstein, *op. cit.* I, p. 32. But since Phoroneus is said to have become ruler of the whole Peloponnesus (Apollod. II, 1, 5), we may possibly account for the presence of his name in both lists by saying that both Megarians and Argives were following a common tradition. See further Chapter IV, and note 9 below. In view of the fact that both Carians and Leleges were apparently contemporaneous if not the same people, it seems very arbitrary to have eleven generations thus inserted. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians*, p. 30, observes: "The most perfect genealogies could not even approximately determine absolute dates; and the genealogies were full of inconsistencies which had to be overcome by arbitrary interpolations and manipulations."

¹⁵ Paus. I, 39, 6.

¹⁶ We cannot identify the Leleges with certainty. In Homer (*Il.* XXI, 85-7) they are represented as the inhabitants of Pedasus, and probably possessed the strip of coast-land from Antandrus to Assus (Leaf, *Troy*, pp. 235 f.). Herodotus (I, 171) says that the name Leleges was an older name of the Carians, and according to Callisthenes (Strabo, XIII, 611) the former people were located in the

a seafaring people who worshipped Poseidon as their patron deity. Like Demeter, Poseidon is a pre-Hellenic god, and according to an old tradition his religion was originally brought from Egypt.¹⁷ We may conclude, then, that at some early period the Leleges came across the Aegean and established themselves at least temporarily along the Megarian coast, bringing with them the worship of their sea-divinity. Hence, it may be significant that Poseidon's temple stood on the southern coast.¹⁸

Cleson and Pylas.

Lelex¹⁹ was succeeded on the throne by his son Cleson concerning whom we know nothing more. He, in turn, was followed by his son Pylas,²⁰ who enjoyed only a brief reign

district of Halicarnassus. It would seem that the Leleges were a people closely akin to the Carians, who had taken up their position on the islands and coast, and then were enslaved by the inhabitants of the interior and by the Greeks. An early king Lelex was autochthonous in Laconia and Messenia (Paus. III, 1, 1; IV, 1, 1; Apollod. III, 10, 2). See E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, I, pp. 684 f.; Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, pp. 376-84. Ridgeway (*op. cit.* I, pp. 193 f.) thinks that perhaps the Leleges were the more western, the Carians the more eastern, of the two tribes in the Aegean, who were no doubt related. See above, note 10, end. Strabo (VI, 322) quotes Aristotle as saying that the Leleges settled in Megaris. See further on this subject Giles, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* II, pp. 10, 26 f.; Hogarth, *ibid.* pp. 542 ff.

The Leleges became established in the later literary tradition, as we see by the Roman poets. Thus Ovid (*Metam.* VII, 443; VIII, 6) speaks of the "Lelegeia moenia" and "Lelegeia litora" of Megara. On the shield of Aeneas (Vergil, *Aen.* VIII, 725) the Leleges and Carians are represented among the captives of Augustus.

¹⁷ Hdt. II, 50; IV, 188.

¹⁸ See Chapter II, *s. v. Poseidon*.

¹⁹ Paus. I, 39, 6. The name Cleson apparently comes from Thessaly (Pfister, p. 13, note 27).

²⁰ Pausanias writes the name in three different ways: in I, 39, 6, Πύλας; in IV, 36, 1, Πύλος; in VI, 22, 5, Πύλων. Apollodorus (III, 5, 2) used the form Πύλας.

for he slew his paternal uncle and was therefore compelled to flee leaving the throne to Pandion II. of Attica, who had previously taken refuge in Megara.²¹

Pandion II.

The myth of Pandion's flight probably reflects the period of the Ionian migration²² and its spread from Attica into Megaris; for there was an ancient tradition which said that these countries had once been populated by the Ionians, and that the former extended as far as the Isthmus at Corinth.²³ As Pandion represents the invading Ionians, so Pylas stands for the ruling element of the Leleges, who were naturally subjected to the newcomers. But a part of the original in-

²¹ Apollod. III, 15, 5, 2.

²² The Ionian migration is discussed by Hogarth, *Ionian and the East*, pp. 24-41, 115. The story of the flight of Pandion to Megara, along with his previous troubles (Apollod. *l. c.*), seems to indicate that in both Megara and Attica the ruling house was being replaced by the invader.

²³ Strabo, III, 171; IX, 392; Plato, *Critias* 110 D. Cf. Strabo, IX, 395; Pliny, *N. H.* IV, 23. This tradition is, as Beloch (*Griech. Gesch.* I, 1, p. 142, n. 1) says, geographically sound. But Busolt (*Griech. Gesch.* I, p. 220), Wilamowitz (*Hermes*, IX, 1875, p. 324; XXI, 1886, p. 100, n. 2), and Duncker (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, V, p. 174, n. 4; p. 394, n. 1) reject the tradition, and the first two stoutly maintain that it is an Attic invention of the fifth century. Edward Meyer (*Gesch. des Alterthums*, II, p. 341) seems to assent to the arguments of Busolt and Wilamowitz. It is rather significant, however, that the Megarians never disclaimed the presence of Ionians in their country in early times. The idea is sound geographically, and as historically probable as the appearance of the Dorians there in later times; for the Ionians no doubt came from the same general direction and by the same route as the Dorians. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, p. 2, believes that the entire shore of the Saronic Gulf was probably once Ionic, as the cults and legends tend to show. He likewise believes (*Cl. Phil.* XXI, 1926, pp. 19 f.) that during the Heroic Age, Megara, along with Attica and some other localities, used the Ionic (Attic-Ionic) speech. Cf. also the similar view of Kretschmer (*Glotta*, I, pp. 9 ff) as quoted by Buck, *l. c.* p. 23, but with his caution on p. 24.

habitants remained in the country, driven back no doubt to the hills and to the less desirable districts.

Pandion is said to have ruled for twenty-five years and to have had four sons.²⁴ According to one account²⁵ he divided his kingdom into four parts before his death and apportioned it to his sons. According to another story²⁶ his sons made the division after his death, and Nisus received Megaris as his realm. The latter is therefore named as the next king of Megara.

Nisus.

His reign was far from peaceful being much disturbed by troubles within and without. When he was about to take possession of his kingdom Sciron, we are told, opposed him. But Aeacus, chosen as umpire to decide the dispute, gave the rulership to Nisus and made Sciron general.²⁷ But according to another account, which seems the more probable, Sciron at the head of a band of robbers ravaged the territory of Megaris while Nisus successfully defended himself. If we bear in mind the tradition that Sciron was the son of Pylas²⁸ we have sufficient material for a fairly consistent historical interpretation.

We may assume that after their first settlement the Ionians kept increasing in numbers. But the Leleges, who were left in Megaris after the Ionian invasion, no doubt retained bitter recollections of harsh treatment at the hands of the new-

²⁴ Strabo, IX, 392. Cf. Jebb on Soph. frag. 24 (Aegeus); Apollod. III, 15, 5, 5.

²⁵ Schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 58; *Vesp.* 1223.

²⁶ Paus. I, 5, 3; Strabo, *l. c.*; Apollod. III, 15, 6, 1.

²⁷ Paus. I, 39, 6; cf. 44, 9. This is the Megarian tradition. Seeliger (p. 36) considers the story late and due to Megara's membership in the Amphictyony of Onchestus (223-192 B. C.), when the *σπαρτηγός* was the highest state officer at Megara. Hence, this story of Sciron would be a case of dignifying a later institution by giving to it an early origin. Seeliger thinks the list of kings was composed about 200 B. C., but probably sees in it too much late influence. Many of the Megarian traditions are early.

²⁸ Paus. I, 39, 6; Plutarch, *Thes.* 10.

comers. It is therefore only natural that, under the leadership of one of their number, they should make what opposition they could to the king. Pressed back to the hilly and mountainous districts they would lead the life of outlaws and robbers. Events in connection with the invasion of Megara by Minos serve to strengthen this view.

During his reign Nisus is said to have enlarged Megara and to have protected it with a harbor-town called after himself Nisaea²⁹; and perhaps it is at this time that we should place the real beginning of Megarian commercial activity which becomes so prominent in its later history.³⁰

²⁹ Paus. I, 39, 4. This is the Megarian tradition. Pfister (p. 25, n. 66) thinks that the town Nisaea may have given Nisus as king in the genealogy. That is, Nisus is unhistorical and is created for the purposes of the aetiological myth. But Pindar (*Pyth.* IX, 91; *Nem.* V, 46) calls Nisaea Νίσου λόφος, and Euripides in *Herc. Fur.* 954, Νίσου πόλις, passages which indicate an early tradition. It should be observed that Pindar in the above passages means Nisaea and not Megara; at least the reference to Megara is only by implication. See further note 42. Wilamowitz (*Hermes*, IX, 1875, p. 323; *Pindaros*, p. 15) thinks that Nisus is historical but of Thracian origin; and that the claim that he was Pandion's son is again an Athenian invention to strengthen Athens' claim to Megaris. But Fick (*Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, pp. 121, 130) considers Νίσος a Lelegan word (that is, of Asia Minor origin), and points out the fact that in the *Odyssey* (XVI, 395; XVIII, 127) Νίσος is the name of a hero of Dulichium in Acarnania. The latter country was an old Lelegan place of settlement. See further the Appendix to this chapter.

³⁰ It seems probable that the occupancy of the acropolis along the coast indicates commercial expansion as well as growth of population. The second of the twin hills on which the historical Megara stood did not receive a name until the time of Alcathous, so far as we know, and it may be that for some reason or other it had not yet become a part of the inland city. A good reason would be that, owing to increasing trade, a harbor-town developed very early. Such joining of the early city with a harbor-town is another characteristic of Mycenaean cities. Other cities so joined to the coast were Argos, Athens, Corinth, Sicyon, Troezen (E. Ardaillon, *Quomodo Graeci collocaverint portus atque aedificaverint*, 1898, pp. 19 ff.). Mycenae itself is an exception because of its location far inland.

But disaster came upon Nisus from the Cretans who invaded the mainland of Greece at this time. After leaving Attica they first attacked Megara and conquered it. Then they laid siege to Nisaea, whither Nisus had fled, and finally took it. Along with the Athenians it seems likely that the Megarians were forced to pay ransom. The latter, however, denied that the Cretans had ever invaded their country.³¹

It is in this connection that the famous story is told of Scylla and her rape of the lock of hair.³² During the siege by Minos, Nisaea appears to have offered stubborn resistance, and was taken at last through the treachery of Scylla. For an oracle had declared to Nisus that he would die if he lost a certain tawny (or purple) lock of hair. Now during the siege Scylla became enamored of Minos, cut the lock from her father's hair, and gave it to Minos. Thus the city was taken. Nisus was killed, and his body buried by the Athenians³³; or, according to another account,³⁴ he took his own life. This story early became famous and was extensively developed as a literary theme particularly by the Roman poets.³⁵

³¹ Paus. I, 39, 6. This denial has been used as a serious charge against the Megarians; but Athens in like manner refused to admit that their country had ever been invaded before the Persian Wars, although it is clear that the Dorians gained a temporary footing there, and the name of the invader was never forgotten (Hdt. V, 72).

³² Paus. I, 19, 5; Schol. Eurip. *Hipp.* 1190; Strabo, VIII, 373.

³³ Paus. *l. c.* Thucydides (IV, 118, 4) speaks of τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν τῶν παρὰ τὸ τοῦ Νίσου ἐπὶ τὸ Ποσειδώνιον. The text is too corrupt to enable us to determine the precise meaning. The commentators on the passage regularly interpret this to mean that there was a temple or statue of Nisus here. But Wagner, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, III, p. 426, understands it to mean a certain district in this region that was named after Nisus. His grave was back of the Lyceum at Athens, so that it is uncertain whether he was worshipped at Megara.

³⁴ Hyginus, *Fab.* 242.

³⁵ The story is found in Aesch. *Choeph.* 611 ff.; Vergil, *Ecl.* VI, 74 ff.; *Georg.* I, 404 ff.; (Vergil) *Ciris*; Tibullus, *El.* I, 4, 57; Propertius, *El.* III, 19, 21; IV, 19, 26; V, 4, 39; Ovid, *Metam.* VIII,

In spite of Megarian denial the probability of a Cretan invasion can hardly be doubted. During the Middle Minoan period the Cretans seem to have reached the Saronic gulf, the Euripus, and the Pagasaeon gulf and settled perhaps as the civilizing "Minyans."³⁶ The tradition of Cretan conquests of the Greek mainland was most vividly preserved in the later story of Theseus and the Minotaur, and in the name Minoa given to the little island off the harbor-town Nisaea. Here Minos is said to have anchored his fleet and to have left the memory of his name.³⁷ While we cannot hope to establish definite dates on the basis of this list of kings, it is safe to say that the presence of Cretans in Megara at this time is no anachronism, for Mycenaean pottery has been found on the hill now generally identified as ancient Minoa.³⁸

The legend of Scylla and her rape of the golden lock has been rationalized so that, along with that of Sciron, it may be used to establish certain interesting relationships between the

5-150; *Trist.* II, 393; *Her.* XII, 124; *A. A.* I, 331; *Am.* III, 12, 21 f.; *Ibis*, 362; Hyginus, *Fab.* 198. For discussions of the literary treatment of the story see Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, pp. 37, 99 f., with notes; Smith, *Tibullus*, I, 4, 57; Frank, *Vergil*, pp. 35-46; E. Siecke, *De Niso et Scylla in aves mutatis*, Berlin, 1884. As we see from the passage from Vergil's sixth Eclogue cited above, Scylla, the daughter of Nisos, and the Scylla associated with Charybdis, were later identified, although originally distinct. This may be due to the Greek colonists in Sicily. Cf. J. E. Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey*, pp. 207 f.

³⁶ Hall, *Proceedings of Soc. of Bib. Arch.* XXXI, 1909, p. 140; *Anc. Hist. of the Near East*, p. 160.

³⁷ Thuc. III, 51; Strabo, IX, 391; Paus. I, 44, 3; Hellanicus, frag. 47, Müller; Reinganum, p. 33; Vogt. p. 22. Several other places received the name Minoa: towns in Amorgus, Argolis, Laconia, Arabia and Sicily; a city and spring in Siphnus; Parus and Gaza in Philistia were originally so called. See Buenger, *Crete in the Greek Tradition*, 1915, pp. 61-69, where the subject of Cretan colonists is discussed and the authorities are cited. Cf. also Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, I, pp. 2 f.

³⁸ *Ath. Mitt.* XXIX, 1904, p. 95; Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 223. The finds are Late Minoan III. (Fimmen, *Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, p. 9; Hall, *op. cit.* pp. 57 ff.).

early nationalities in Megaris. It is significant that Sciron is not mentioned during the Cretan invasion. But if he had been appointed general of Nisus' army, as the Megarians claimed, why should not *he* have defended the city? It is therefore more likely that his true character was that of a robber-chief,³⁹ and that he even helped and encouraged Minos rather than Nisus.⁴⁰ Perhaps some treacherous element developed within Nisus' own army which finally betrayed the city to the enemy.⁴¹ At any rate, the Leleges seem to have continued their lawlessness and brigandage for some time until, as myth would have it, their leader was slain by Theseus of Athens.⁴²

Megareus.

Megareus succeeded Nisus on the throne. According to the local tradition,⁴³ he was the son of Poseidon and son-in-law of Nisus. The Boeotians claimed⁴⁴ that when the latter was hard pressed by the Cretans, Megareus came from

³⁹ Vogt, p. 27.

⁴⁰ Holle (p. 17) thinks that the Leleges and Cretans were related, and that the former, naturally preferring their rulership to the rulership of the Ionians represented by Nisus, invited the Cretans to make war upon Megara. In this way he would explain the story of Scylla.

⁴¹ Cf. a similar story told by the Megarians in explanation of their loss of Salamis (Paus. I, 40, 5). Somewhat similar also is the story of Tarpeia (Livy, I, 11).

⁴² Paus. I, 3, 1; 44, 8; Strabo, IX, 391; Plutarch, *Thes.* 10; Diod. Sic. IV, 59. For a discussion of the story of Sciron and Theseus in relation to later ritual see Roberts, *J. H. S.* XXXII, 1912, pp. 105-110. Girard (p. 22) has rationalized the figure of Sciron into a violent wind that blew travellers off the rock. Cf. Strabo, IX, 391. But Theseus, at any rate, is gradually taking on an historical character. See Frost, *J. H. S.* 1915, pp. 18 ff.; Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage Before the Persian Invasion*, 1924, pp. 1 ff.

⁴³ Paus. I, 39, 5. His grave was pointed out at Megara. See Chapter II, s. v.

⁴⁴ Paus. I, 39, 5; Plutarch, *Qu. Gr.* 16; Apollod. III, 15, 8; Reinganum, pp. 117 f.; Vogt, p. 24; Holle, p. 14. See the Appendix to this chapter.

Onchestus (in Boeotia) to the aid of his brother-in-law. He lost his life in the war and was buried in Megara, which thereupon received its name from him since previously it had been called Nisa. Why should aid come from Boeotia? Myth does not say, but it is quite possible that at this early time there was some close bond of union between Megara and Onchestus. The latter was sacred to Poseidon,⁴⁵ and as early as the appearance of the Leleges we have seen that this divinity was worshipped at Megara also. Since the Amphictyony of Onchestus no doubt originally centered about the worship of Poseidon, it is highly probable that Megara and Onchestus even at this early time were members of the same league, whose main purpose was to insure mutual aid against the common enemy. It would serve a purpose similar to the League of Calauria, of which Megara and the towns of Boeotia were very likely members. Hence, at a time when the Cretans were threatening the south coast of the Greek mainland, it is only natural that Megara's neighbor on the north, her friend and ally, should come to her rescue.⁴⁶

Alcathous.

During the reign of Megareus, Alcathous,⁴⁷ son of Pelops, came from Elis. He is by far the most striking personality among these early kings. We are informed that he came to Megara as a wanderer seeking a new home. But it was a dramatic moment for a potential hero. Great consternation

⁴⁵ *Iliad*, II, 506: 'Ορχηστὸν θ' ἱερὸν, Ποσιδήμιον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος. That the worship of Poseidon was closely associated with Onchestus is seen from Pausanias, IX, 37, 1; 26, 5; Strabo, IX, 412; *Hom. Hymn to Pyth. Apollo*, 52.

⁴⁶ The Megara-Plataea road probably formed an important thoroughfare from early times, and Nisaea was the natural port for south Boeotia, Eleusis and west Attica. Cf. E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alt. II*, p. 436.

⁴⁷ For Alcathous see Paus. I, 39, 5; 42, 1-7; 43, 4; Xen. *De Venat.* I, 9; Theognis, 774; Dieuchidas in Schol. App. Rh. I, 517. Especially good treatises are by Seeliger (*op. cit.*), and Knaack in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc. s. v.*

had settled over the land of Megareus because of the ravages of a lion on Mt. Cithaeron. The beast had already slain one of the king's sons, hence a reward was offered by the king to the hero that could slay the lion; this reward was to be the king's daughter in marriage and succession to the throne. Alcahous undertook the task and, with the help of Apollo and Artemis, slew the lion and brought back his tongue to Megara as evidence of his deed. Thus he became son-in-law and successor to Megareus.

But great misfortune now pursued Alcahous. His daughter Iphinoe died in her youth, his older son Ischepolis met his death on the Calydonian Boar Hunt; and when the younger son, Callipolis, brought the sad news to his father the latter slew him for what he considered to be an act of sacrilege on the part of Callipolis during the sacrifice which he (Alcahous) was performing to Apollo. Thus he lost both his sons. Although his sad career might well have furnished material for some writer of tragedy, the saga was almost entirely confined to local territory⁴⁸ where he was particularly celebrated as the grandfather of Ajax and builder of the walls of Megara. Furthermore, he is closely associated with the erection of temples and graves. For example, after slaying the lion of Mt. Cithaeron he constructed a temple to Apollo and Artemis. Before he began the building of the walls of Megara he sacrificed to the gods. To atone, in some measure at least, for the slaying of Ischepolis he built a tomb to the memory of the latter. In like manner he honored the memory of Timalcus and of his wives, Pyrgo and Iphinoe. Alcahous thus sums up in a single career the character of

⁴⁸ His name, however, found a place in literature. Thus Pindar (*Isth.* 7 (8), 67) speaks of 'Αλκαθόου τ' ἀγών; [Vergil] in the *Ciris* says: Stat Megara, Alcaethoi quondam munita labore | Alcaethoi Phoebeque: deus namque adfuit illi. Ovid has: in urbe Alcaethoi (*Metam.* VIII, 8); Alcaethoi . . . moenibus (*Trist.* I, 10, 39); Alcaethoi . . . urbe Pelasga (*A. A.* II, 421). An inscription (*I. G. I.* 1080) even speaks of the Megarians as 'Αλκαθόου ναστῆρες. Megara was sometimes called 'Αλκαθή (Ovid, *Metam.* VII, 443; *Anth. Plan.* 279).

lion-slaying hero of the western acropolis, and worshipper of the gods.⁴⁹ In later times, public games were celebrated in his honor at Nisaea.⁵⁰

But what historical significance may we attach to this myth? It is natural to suppose that the invasion of the Cretans had left Megara in a condition that required considerable time for recovery. She was greatly weakened.⁵¹ That she was still paying tribute to Minos is indicated by the story that Alcathous sent his daughter Periboea with Theseus to Crete.⁵² That Alcathous re-built the walls is also quite probable. These apparent facts, along with the belief that he was succeeded by Ajax and Hyperion, suggest the probability that the Pelopidae gained a permanent hold in the

⁴⁹ Cf. Miss Rambo, *Lions in Greek Art*, p. 3, n. 2. He is thus a kind of Heracles and is to be thought of in connection with that great hero and with Theseus. That Alcathous was closely associated with Heracles is shown by the myth which said that the latter, and not Alcathous, had slain the Cithaeronian lion. Another Alcathous, son of Porthaon, was named as one of Hippodamia's suitors, and his grave was pointed out to Pausanias at Olympia (Paus. VI, 20, 17; 21, 10). Wilamowitz, *Euripides' Herakles* I, p. 47 ff., thinks that Alcathous is simply a differentiation of one original individual, and an older name of Heracles adopted after the Dorians entered Argos. But Farnell (*Greek Hero Cults*, pp. 99 f.) rejects this theory and holds that in the study of Heracles we must start with the form 'Ηρακλῆς. He accepts Fick's etymology of the word ("The Glory of Hera") but thinks that it did not necessarily arise in Argos. The word 'Αλκάθοος may be Phrygian, for we find it in Homer (*Il.* XII, 93; XIII, 427 ff., 465 ff.) as the name of a γαμβρός of Anchises. Its reappearance in Vergil (*Aen.* X, 747) and Quintus of Smyrna (X, 352) is no doubt due to the epic literary tradition. For the ending -θοος cf. Ἰππó-θοος (*Il.* II, 840), the leader of the Pelasgians of the south Troad. See further note 53.

⁵⁰ Pindar, *Nem.* 5, 46; *Isth.* 7 (8), 67. The level country about Nisaea was especially suited for the holding of games.

⁵¹ Holle, p. 21.

⁵² Paus. I, 42, 4; 17, 3; Schol. on *Il.* II, 14; Xen. *De Venat.* I, 9; Reinganum (p. 131) following Müller (*Dor.* II, p. 229, n. 3), thinks that the statue of Apollo Pythius and Tithe-receiver may refer to tribute sent to Minos. But see Chapter II, s. v. *Apollo*.

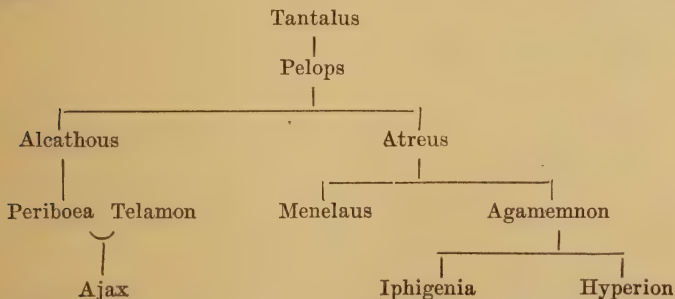
country which was not released until the Dorian invasion; in fact, the Pelopid element was strong even after that event.⁵³

Ajax.

Alcathous had outlived his sons, hence Ajax, his grandson, is said to have succeeded him.⁵⁴ The latter is particularly noted for his uniting of Megara and Salamis under one rule,⁵⁵

⁵³ It is now held by some that the Pelopidae came across the Aegean from the general direction of Anatolia. See Hall, *Anc. Hist. of Near East*, p. 67; *J. H. S.* XXIX, 1909, pp. 19-22. The arguments against this view are given by Leaf, *Homer and History*, pp. 50, 71. But Bury, *Hist. of Greece*, p. 58, thinks that Pelops was originally a god who later was degraded to the rank of hero, and was thereafter worshipped on the banks of the Alpheus. Farnell (*Cults of the Greek States; Greek Hero Cults, passim*) rejects the principle of Euhemerism in general. Hall (*l. c.*) observes that there is nothing distinctly Achæan in Pelops, and believes that the Pelopidae were probably of Hittite origin, as the Greek Μύρμιλος, Oenomaus' charioteer, is probably the Hittite Mursil. He further connects the legend of the Amazons in Greece with a probable Hittite invasion of the Greek mainland. If this last view be correct, the Hittites seem to have invaded Megaris twice, for the grave of Hippolyte was shown in Megara (Paus. I, 41, 7). We have already indicated that the word Ἀλκάθοος appears to have come originally from Anatolia. See note 49 above. The identity of these early Aegean peoples, however, is still so much a matter of dispute that it is not safe to dogmatize in any case.

⁵⁴ The family tree of the Pelopidae would then be constructed as follows:



⁵⁵ The question of Ajax's relation to Salamis will be discussed in a later connection.

and the Megarians apparently claimed that he had led their own contingent and that of Salamis to the Trojan War. But Ajax died at Troy, and the rulership passed on to Hyperion, son of Agamemnon.⁵⁶

Hyperion.

With the ascendancy of Hyperion the house of Mycenae succeeded to the power at Megara. But it did not enjoy rulership long for Hyperion was banished or slain for his ὕβρις.⁵⁷ With him the kingship also passed out, and it is from this time that the Megarians date the beginning of republican institutions, the ἀρχοὺς αἰπεροί.⁵⁸

Summary.

The above genealogy gives nineteen generations from the time of the first settlement by the Carians until the close of the Trojan War. If we take 1184 B. C., the traditional date of the sack of Troy, as a *terminus ante quem* and allow three generations to the century, as was commonly done, we derive the year 1817 B. C.⁵⁹ This would be about the beginning of

⁵⁶ As Agamemnon was slain soon after returning from Troy, the Megarians could not claim him as their king. But they did say that he had visited Megara before the war to induce Calchas, then living in Megara, to join the expedition. While there he erected a temple to Artemis (Paus. I, 43, 1; Theog. 11 f.). Iphigenia is also thought to have died there (See Chapters I, II, s. v. *Artemis*). These stories probably indicate the relationship that was felt to exist between the Pelopidae in Argolis and Megara (Holle, p. 21; Reinganum, p. 134; Welcker on Theogn. 727).

⁵⁷ Paus. I, 43, 3.

⁵⁸ Paus. *l. c.*

⁵⁹ According to tradition the Dorian Invasion took place in the second generation after the fall of Troy, when the grandsons of Agamemnon were either killed or expelled by the Dorians (Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, pp. 173 f.). According to Megarian tradition Hyperion was expelled because of his ὕβρις; but he was the son, not the grandson, of Agamemnon. However, we must not hold the myths to strict consistency in such matters. The Dorian Invasion is roughly dated at about 1100 B. C. by modern historians and archaeologists. In our computation 1117 (Megarian date of the

Middle Minoan II. times.⁶⁰ While it would be unwise to commit ourselves to a definite year on the basis of mere tradition, it is significant that archaeological finds confirm the probability of a definite settlement at Megara as early as Middle Minoan times. For not only have Mycenaean sherds been found at Megara, Minoa, and Nisaea, but there are also pre-Mycenaean remains at Minoa and remains of Cyclopean walls on the acropolis Caria.⁶¹ Furthermore, we have shown that the location and character of the two acropolises of Megara are characteristic of Mycenaean sites, and many of the cults were seen to be pre-Hellenic.⁶² Hence, the following conclusion seems to be justified. Megara was first settled by a sea-faring people from the general direction of the Aegean in Mycenaean or pre-

invasion) + 700 (from Car to Hyperion) = 1817 in years B. C. Herodotus (II, 142) states that three generations make a century. In the Parian Chronicle the generation averages 32 years. But frequently there was much variation, although by the third century B. C. three generations were generally reckoned to the century (Bury, *The Anc. Greek Historians*, p. 28).

⁶⁰ According to Evans' chronology (*The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, I, pp. 30 f.; Cf. Hall, *l. c.* pp. 33 ff.). In the strictly mainland chronology of Wace and Blegen it would correspond to Middle Helladic I. See *B. S. A.* XXII, 1916-17, pp. 175 ff.; Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 3.

⁶¹ At Nisaea and Minoa sherds were found belonging to L. M. III. (Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, p. 223); at Minoa (not Nisaea, as Fimmen says) Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean sherds (Fimmen, *Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur*, p. 9); at Megara (i. e., on acrop. Caria) remains of Cyclopean walls (Fimmen, *l. c.*).

⁶² Hall, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, pp. 281 f., says: "In a sense, of course, the majority of the Greek states were 'Mycenaean' survivals; there are few important Greek town sites which would not, if carefully examined, show proof of unbroken occupation as far back as the pre-Mycenaean period." Farnell (*Cults*, III, p. 68) assumed that Megara was a Mycenaean site. But Pöhlmann, *Griechische Geschichte*, p. 36 (in Müller's *Handbuch*) considers the traditional history of such single Dorian sites as Sicyon, Phlius, Aegina, Laconia, Argolis, and Megara as "eine apokryphe," although he admits that the older tradition in Sparta probably contains some historical truth.

Mycenaean times. These early settlers may originally have been natives of Crete or Asia Minor driven from their home by an invader or led to establish themselves on the mainland of Greece for the purpose of trade. Additional colonists, hearing of the advantageous location of this new settlement, came from time to time until a flourishing trade had grown up. With the growth of trade came also expansion of the fleet; hence, it was now safe and highly desirable to establish a harbor-town, and consequently Nisaea was built along the coast. This is but one illustration of the conditions in the early Hellenic world as described by Thucydides, who tells us that the earliest cities were built back from the coast on account of the prevalence of pirates; and that later, it became safe to locate cities along the coast for purposes of trade.⁶³

But not only the early Aegeans had established themselves here. The Ionians likewise from the north and other peoples from the south kept coming in from time to time until it was necessary to extend the city proper to a third hill, the acropolis Alcathoa. By this time Megara had become too prosperous to please that great sea-faring people, the Cretans. On this account, as well as because of other grievances perhaps, Minos made war upon the Isthmus and Attica, sacking them and compelling them to pay yearly tribute for many generations. Thereupon, a dark period of comparative anarchy and obscurity followed. Finally the Dorians came and established themselves as the ruling class in Megara, which for the first time became a definitely and permanently organized state.⁶⁴

What was the relationship of Megara to her other neighbors at this time? The native tradition does not say, but there

⁶³ Thuc. I, 7. The statement *τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον ἐμπορίας τε ἕνεκα* is especially pertinent. See also Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, pp. 38 ff.

⁶⁴ See Chapter IV. Girard's summary (p. 25) is as follows: "constat autem Megarenses primo Pelasgos fuisse; dein maxime Iones, admixtis etiam Achaeis Aeoliisque; postquam vero Codrum aggressi Peloponnesii urbem eorum cepissent, tum omnino Dorienses factos fuisse."

was the belief that she was subject to Athens at one period or another. We are told that Theseus united Megaris to Attica and that it was subject to the latter until the Dorian invasion, when the two became permanently separated. This can hardly mean more than that a part of her territory was seized and held for a time. Boundary disputes in antiquity were common, and Athens was not noted for her peacefulness.⁶⁵ The story of Sciron perhaps reflects this early border-warfare between the two neighbors; for by the Athenians Sciron was represented as a robber and murderer whom Theseus slew,⁶⁶ but the Megarians claimed⁶⁷ that he was a noble hero, foe of robbers, friend of the oppressed, and public benefactor. They further maintained⁶⁸ that the killing of Sciron by Theseus took place when the Athenians under his leadership took Eleusis from them and not when he made his celebrated first trip to Athens.

We have previously shown that from early times Megara and Boeotia were closely associated in trade relations and were therefore on friendly terms. There seems to be slight evidence for the view that Megara was ever subject to Boeotia.⁶⁹

There seem to have been boundary disputes with Corinth also in early times, but the exact relationship between the two cities is far from clear.⁷⁰ There was a late tradition that Megara was even founded by Corinth,⁷¹ or that the Corinth-

⁶⁵ Cf. the proverb Ἀττικὸς πάροικος (Zenob. II, 28; Arist. *Rhet.* II, 21, 12) Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* M. II. 59. The belligerent character of Athens is described by the Corinthian envoy in Thuc. I, 70, and is fully illustrated in history.

⁶⁶ Paus. I, 3, 1; 44, 8; Strabo IX, 391; Plut. *Thes.* 10; Diod. Sic. IV, 59.

⁶⁷ Plutarch, *l. c.* from the Μεγαρικά of Praxion?

⁶⁸ Plutarch, *l. c.*; Paus. I, 36, 4. Seeliger, pp. 35 ff.; Reinganum, p. 28; Holle, p. 12.

⁶⁹ See the Appendix to this chapter.

⁷⁰ This question is discussed in Chapter IV.

⁷¹ Late sources seem to be the only authority for this statement.

ians had a part ⁷² in founding it, but this is unlikely. The question will be discussed in a later connection.⁷³

The relation of Megara to the Trojan War is also obscure. There is only one possible reference to her in Homer ⁷⁴ and even this is subject to dispute. It is very probable that she was still suffering from the effect of the Cretan invasion and was not able alone to equip an expedition to Troy; for otherwise, she would have played her part in this undertaking just as she did later during the Persian Wars, as her interest in commerce and trade was sufficient to cause her to be moved by motives similar to those of the other Greek states of the Heroic Age. In this connection it must be remembered that the other great cities of classical times, such as Athens, Corinth and Sicyon, played a very subordinate role at Troy.⁷⁵ The close of the Heroic Age ⁷⁶ ends the first great period of Megara's history. When she emerges again, she is a Dorian state.

⁷² Ps-Scymnus, 503-5, after Ephorus.

⁷³ See Chapter IV.

⁷⁴ Homer, *Il.* II, 508. See the Appendix to this chapter. Eustathius on *Il.* II, 547 quotes Dionysius (*δ γεωγράφος*) as including the Megarians with the Athenians on the Trojan expedition.

⁷⁵ Hall, *Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 282, says: "During the post-Mycenaean age Athens, though an important seat of Geometric art, seems to have fallen politically into a condition of complete insignificance, from which it did not emerge until the end of the sixth century." For the unimportance of Athens in the Trojan War see Scott, *Cl. Phil.* VI, 1911, pp. 419 ff. This period between the invasions and 800 B. C. has appropriately been called the Dark Age. Perhaps the same general process of assimilating the invaders was taking place as happened in the later Dark Age of western Europe after the barbarians from the north had destroyed the Roman empire in the West. Cf. Ure, *The Greek Renaissance*, London, 1921.

⁷⁶ The traditional date was two generations after the sack of Troy. See note 59.

TABLE OF THE MYTHICAL KINGS OF MEGARA ACCORDING TO
MEGARIAN TRADITION

Generations.

1. *Car*, son of Phoroneus. Led the first permanent settlers to Megara, and established them on the eastern acropolis, called after him Caria. Built the *Μέγαρον* to Demeter.

Eleven Generations.

13. *Lelex*, son of Poseidon and Libya. Led the Leleges to Megara from Egypt.
14. *Cleson*, son of Lelex.
15. *Pylas*, son of Cleson. Gave refuge to Pandion II. of Attica. Exiled for the murder of his paternal uncle Bias. Founded Pylus, city of Nestor.
16. *Pandion* II. Succeeded Pylas on the throne as the result of Aeacus' decision. Sciron, son of Pylas, made general.
17. *Nisus*, son of Pandion. Gave his name to the harbor-town Nisaea, which he built. Megaris invaded by the Cretans.
18. *Megareus*, son-in-law of Nisus, and son of Poseidon (or Zeus). Came to the rescue of Nisus during the Cretan invasion.
19. *Alcathous*, son of Pelops. Came from Elis, rebuilt the walls of Megara, and settled the western acropolis called after him Alcathoa.
20. *Ajax*, son of Telamon, grandson of Alcathous. United Salamis and Megara under the same rulership.
21. *Hyperion*, son of Agamemnon. Last king of Megara. Killed or banished because of his *ὑβρις*.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

THE NAME "MEGARA"

It is usually stated that the original name of our city was *Nĩsa* but that later it was changed to *Méγapa*, a name derived from the royal palace (*Méγapov*) that stood on the acropolis Caria during the Heroic Age. The leading exponents of this view (Allen, Wilamowitz, Bury and Reinganum) base their arguments mainly upon two passages, the one from Homer (*Iliad*, II, 508) and the other from Pausanias (I, 39, 5), both of which are susceptible of various interpretations. In the Homeric passage we find *Nĩsa* *ζαθέη* grouped with the twenty-eight towns of Boeotia which together contributed 50 ships and 6000 men to the expedition against Troy. Is this *Nĩsa* the later *Méγapa*? Allen, who considers the Greek Catalogue a reliable historical document for this period, claims that Megaris was subject to Boeotia at this time and that the southern boundary of the latter therefore extended to the Saronic Gulf. Wilamowitz thinks that religion and saga are abundant enough to prove that Megara was subject to Boeotia before the Dorian invasion. Reinganum suggests that originally both cities were included under the name *Nĩsa* but that later when the inland city became known as *Méγapa*, the harbor-town kept the old designation. Bury apparently accepts Wilamowitz's statements. Wade-Gery also notes that there is no conqueror's name for Megara.

The ancients themselves found great difficulty in explaining the Homeric line, as we learn from Strabo (IX, 405), and several variants were offered for *Nĩsa* such as *Ίσος*, *Κρεῦσα*, *Nĩsa* and even *Φεραί*. Allen, who firmly believes that the later Megarians were guilty of attempted interpolations in important historical documents, would explain these variations as due to Megara's unwillingness to admit that Boeotia's line ever extended to the Saronic Gulf. But Fick thinks that *Nĩsa* was generally understood to be a town in Boeotia, although Apollodorus, according to Strabo (*l. c.*), states that no Boeotian town of that name was known in later times.

A careful study of the arguments offered by the modern advocates of the above theory shows that they are not entirely satisfied with their own explanations. Allen's and Wilamowitz's view violates both geography and history, since to bring Boeotia's boundary south of Mt. Cithaeron would introduce a most unnatural condition; and our study of the myths and cults has shown nothing but friendly feeling on the part of Megara for Boeotia a peculiar attitude for one country to assume toward another country that had for long periods subjected it. We know (Isoc. *Phil.* 53) that after the battle of Leuctra (371 B. C.) Megara became estranged from Thebes, but until that time Megara and Boeotia seem to have been on harmonious terms throughout their entire previous history. Furthermore, in Chapter III we noted the tradition that in pre-Dorian days Megaris and Attica were a single territory, a belief to which Megara seems to have offered no objection. Reinganum's argument was based upon a statement of the scholiast on Theocritus (XII, 27). The text of the scholium, however, is uncertain, offering the variant forms *Nίσα*, *Νίσσα* and *Νίσαα*. Wendel (Teubner text, 1914) has adopted the last reading (*Νίσαα*) while Heinzius had previously rejected *Nίσα*. Nevertheless, it seems possible to offer an explanation of this situation which so far apparently has not been suggested. In order to do this, it will be convenient to deal with the word *Μέγαρα* first, and then with *Nίσα*, and finally to summarize some general conclusions.

Colonel Leake seems to have been the first to suggest that the original name of our city was *Μέγαρα*, and that this name has continued throughout an unbroken tradition down to modern times. He derived the name from the sanctuaries (*μέγαρα*) of Demeter that were established on the acropolis Caria in early days. He further explained that the later Megarians, following a common practice, sought the origin of the name of their famous city in Heroic times. This explanation seems to be in complete harmony with what we know of Demeter worship, for the word *μέγαρα* or *μέγαρον* was frequently used of Demeter's temples. For instance, Pausanias (III,

25, 9; IX, 8, 1) speaks of the μέγαρον Δήμητρος at Taenepolia and τὰ μέγαρα καλούμενα of the same goddess at Potniae. In the latter case μέγαρα is equivalent to χάσματα, the crevices into which pigs were commonly thrown during the performance of the ritual. While the plural form was likewise used of the temples of other cities, it was especially appropriate to a chthonic divinity such as Demeter, since originally it denoted natural chasms or clefts in the earth. It was therefore the cave-dwelling of the goddess. But it was a very easy step to construct such a dwelling above ground also for the deity, although the old name was still retained. Such a mystic shrine no doubt belonged to a very old stratum of religion and so μέγαρον or μέγαρα survived with the cult into later days. In such matters religion is very conservative. According to Pausanias (I, 39, 5) the Megarians believed that their city had received its name Μέγαρα during the time of Car, who had introduced the worship of Demeter.

Philology likewise seems to confirm the view that Μέγαρα was the original name of our city. Fick considers the word to be pre-Hellenic and probably of Carian or Cilician origin, as the termination *-apa* is very common in place names of Asia Minor, particularly in Caria. (Cf. Buckler-Robinson, *A. J. A.* XVI, 1912, pp. 43, 49). Robertson Smith and Victor Bérard also believe the word to be non-Hellenic and identical with a Semitic word meaning "cave." There was also a city named Μέγαρα in Pontus (Steph. Byz.) and one in Syria (Strabo XVI, 752). It is therefore conceivable that the word was actually carried fully developed as the name of a city across to the Isthmus by the early Carians, but this is not very likely. In any case we may conclude that Μέγαρα was originally associated with Demeter's worship and of religious origin. Its etymological meaning in that case would be "The City of the Sacred Chasms," and not "The Chief's Castle," as it is sometimes explained. The plural form became established no doubt because of the large number of such sacred caves or chasms in the neighborhood of the early settlement.

In considering the name *Nīsa* we shall accept the myth which said that, before the invasion of the Cretans, king Nisus had organized a town about a mile and a half from the inland city and along the southern coast. Now we have already suggested (Chapter III, note 29) that the word *Nīsos* is of Asia Minor origin, perhaps a Lelegan (Carian) word. Therefore *Nīsa*, which occurs in the Homeric line referred to above, could very easily be the early name of this harbor-town, which in later times was changed to *Nīsaia* or *Nισαία*, in order to give it a more common Greek form. And it will be recalled that Megara itself was sometimes called *Ἀλκαθόη* from king *Ἀλκάθοος* (Chapter III, note 48 above). The ancients easily forgot the origin of such place names, particularly if they were non-Hellenic words.

It seems significant, therefore, that in the Greek Catalogue (*Il.* II, 506-8) *Nīsa* *ζαθέη* should be grouped along with *Ὀγχηστόν θ' ἱερόν* thus: *Ὀγχηστόν θ' ἱερόν, Ποσιδῆϊον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος, | οἳ τε πολυστάφυλον Ἄρην ἔχον, οἳ τε Μίδειαν | Νισάν τε ζαθέην Ἀθηδόνα τ' ἐσχατόωσαν.* We have seen in Chapter III that in early times Onchestus and the cities of Megaris probably belonged to the same commercial league; and we explained the coming of Megareus from Onchestus to the rescue of Nisus, when the Cretans invaded the latter's country, as due to their bond of friendship. If Onchestus was sacred at this early time to Poseidon, the god of commerce, so Nisa must have been sacred (*ζαθέη*) to the same god; hence the intimate grouping of the two towns in the Homeric passage. To strengthen this argument, we may recall that the old sanctuary of Poseidon was located near Nisaea and apparently associated with the life of that community (Chapters I, II); for clearly the early god of commerce would be worshipped more distinctly in the harbor-town than in the inland city.

Furthermore, we have suggested that the insignificance of Megara (Nisa) in Homer is due to the real situation in which the city found itself at the time of the Trojan expedition, the result perhaps of the Cretan invasion. In any case, her relatively insignificant place in Homer compared with her later

history is no more marked than that of other great classical sites such as Athens, Corinth and Sicyon. The Homeric passage, then, indicated that the harbor-town Nisa sent its small contingent to Troy as a part of the Boeotian contingent, and not because Megaris and Attica both belonged to the same territory, as Strabo (IX, 395; cf. Plutarch, *Sol.* 10) claimed. But an old document, such as the Catalogue undoubtedly is, would naturally give the original name of the city—Nisa, and not Nisaea.

That we should thus sharply distinguish the two cities Megara and Nisaea has been pointed out in Chapter III, note 29; for evidently their distance apart would permit them to develop, at an early time before population became so dense, their own peculiar interests. Nisaea was related to Megara much the same as was the Piraeus to Athens, hence the commercial party would live in the former and be particularly interested in commercial enterprises. We must further remember that it was only after the Dorian invasion that Megara became representative of the whole country. In early times each city of Megaris seems to have been independent, and during the Heroic Age we may well believe that Megara and Nisaea were nearly as distinct as Pagae, Aegosthena and Tripodiscus. But it was natural in much later times, when Megara had become the leading city, to confuse it with the harbor-town, and it is probably on this principle that we can explain the statement of Pausanias (I, 39, 5): Βοιωτοὶ δὲ ἐν Ὀγχηστῷ Μεγαρέα τὸν Ποσειδῶνος οἰκοῦντα ἀφικέσθαι στρατιᾷ Βοιωτῶν φασὶ Νίσῳ τὸν πρὸς Μίνω πόλεμον συνδιοίσοντα, πεσόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταφῆναί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ πόλει Μέγαρον ὄνομα ἀπὸ τούτου γενέσθαι, πρότερον Νίσαν καλουμένην. The derivation of Μέγαρον from Μεγαρέας is undoubtedly a popular etymology.

There is still another native Megarian tradition that deserves brief notice in the present connection. According to a story usually assigned to Dieuchidas, "the father of Megarian history," a certain Μέγαρος or Μεγαρέας, son of a Sithnidian Nymph and Zeus, was founder of the Megarian

dynasty, and was therefore regarded as eponymous hero of Megara. He escaped from the flood of Deucalion and found safety on Mt. Gerania. This mountain, however, was nameless at the time but was so called thereafter because Megarus, by following the cry of some passing cranes (γέρανοι), swam to a jutting peak and thus saved his life (Paus. I, 40, 1; *Etymol. Mag.* s. v. Γεράνεια). But Dieuchidas was a comparatively late writer, and the story bears all the marks of a later invention, especially if we keep in mind the variant form Μεγαρεύς, which was no doubt introduced to explain the tradition of the coming of Megareus from Boeotia.

Finally, there is a Theban tradition, as old at least as the *Odyssey* (XI, 269. Cf. Eurip. *Heracles*, 9) which made Megareus and Megara children of Creon. After Heracles had rescued Thebes from the oppression of Orchomenus, Creon out of gratitude gave Heracles his daughter Megara in marriage. From this union were born the Alcadae, who were honored in Thebes (Pindar, *Isth.* III, 82; Paus. I, 41, 1; IX, 11, 2). But later, Heracles in a fit of madness slew the children and deserted Megara. Her sad face appeared to Odysseus (*Od.* l. c.), and she was represented in the paintings by Polygnotus in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi (Paus. X, 29, 7). This seems to be the legend upon which Busolt and Wilamowitz mainly rely to show that Megara was subject to Boeotia in pre-Dorian days.

Now there seems to be little connection between the Theban legend and the myths centering about our city. In the first place, Megareus of Thebes was the son of Creon, while Megareus of Onchestus was the son of a god, usually Poseidon; secondly, Megara (ἡ Μεγάρα, Μεγάρη) the daughter of Creon seems to be related to our city (τὰ Μέγαρα) only by a chance similarity of sound, for it is doubtful if the personification of cities began so early—a practice clearly implied by those who would identify the two words.

In conclusion, then, we may believe that Μέγαρα was the original name of our city, and that it has continued to be used throughout its history. On the other hand, Νῖσα was

the original name of the harbor-town which in later times was changed to Νίσαια or Νισαία. But in comparatively late times when Megara's prominence was waning, the origin of both towns was forgotten, and the one was often confused with the other, particularly since Megara had become the representative town of the country. Hence arose the belief that originally Megara was called Nisa.

For the discussion of the above question see especially the following:

- Allen, T. W., *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, 1921, pp. 57 f.
 Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, I, pp. 193 ff., 1902, 234 f.
 Bury, J. B., *History of Greece*, 1924, pp. 62 f.
 Busolt, G., *Griechische Geschichte*, 1893, I, 200, n. 1.
 Farnell, L. R., *Cults of the Greek States*, III, 1907, pp. 65 ff.
 Fick, A., *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen*, 1905, pp. 75, 111, 130, 139.
 Girard, J., *De Megarensium Ingenio*, 1854, p. 33.
 Harrison, J., *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 125 ff.
 Hesychius, s. v. Μέγαρα.
 Leake, W. M., *Travels in Northern Greece*, II, 1835, p. 392.
 Meyer, E., *Geschichte des Alterthums*, II, 1893, p. 269, note.
 Reinganum, H., *Das alte Megaris*, 1825, pp. 114, 161.
 Smith, W. Robertson, *The Religion of the Semites*, London, 1894, pp. 197-200.
 Stephanus of Byzantium, s. v. Μέγαρα.
 Wade-Gery, *Camb. Anc. History*, II, 1924, p. 534.
 Wilamowitz, U. von, *Homerische Forschungen*, 1884, pp. 252 f.
 " " " *Euripides' Herakles*, 1889, I, 49, n. 84.
 " " " *Pindaros*, 1922, p. 15.
 " " " *Hermes*, IX, 1875, pp. 323 ff.
 Witte, *Singular und Plural*, 1907, s. v. μέγαρον.

Since writing the above I find that Bury (*Camb. Anc. History*, II, p. 481) now considers Nisa the earlier form of Nisaea, but still claims that Megara did not exist during the Heroic Age.

CHAPTER IV

THE DORIAN INVASION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MEGARIAN STATE

When Megara finally emerges from the obscurity that followed the close of the Heroic Age we find the Dorians the ruling class. When and whence did these Dorians come? On this question the local tradition, so far as we know it, is almost entirely silent, although there are a few traces of it. Thus the grave of Hyllus, son of Heracles, was shown near Rhus; and on the boundary-line between Megara and Corinth the spot was pointed out where Hyllus had fought with the Arcadian Echemus.¹ There is little doubt, however, in spite of the scanty local tradition, that this period is the time of the Dorian Invasion,² or the return of the Heracleidae, as

¹ See Paus. I, 41, 2; 44, 10. Cf. Müller, *Dorians*, I, p. 66.

² For the historical discussion of the Dorian Invasion see especially Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, 1893, I, pp. 201-262; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, II, 1893, *passim*; Holm, *History of Greece*, I, 1894, pp. 135-155, Eng. trans.; J. Penrose Harland, "The Peloponnesos in the Bronze Age," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXIV, 1923, pp. 46 ff. Harland equates "Achaians" and "Dorians" on the principle that the former was their ethnic name, the latter their dialect name. But he also speaks of the earlier invasion as "Achaian" and the later one as "Dorian," since the local traditions refer to the latter. But see note 11 below, and the criticism of Buck, *Cl. Phil.* XXI, 1926, pp. 3, 25 f. The traditional date was given as 1124-1104 B. C. (Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, pp. vi-viii; cf. Chadwick, *op. cit.* p. 174). Thucydides (I, 12) says that 80 years after the taking of Troy (1184 B. C.) the Dorians had become masters of the Peloponnesus. This was the later invasion. The Megarian date would be 1117 B. C. See Chapter III, note 59, above. This would of course suggest that Megaris was among the first states Dorized. According to Herodotus (V, 76) the Dorians colonized Megara in the time of the Athenian Codrus, who died 1044 according to the chronology of Eratosthenes. But cf. Strabo, XIV, 653. See also Wade-Gery, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* II, 1924, pp. 531 ff.

the ancients called it.³ Myth said that it took place two generations after the sack of Troy. It is now quite generally conceded⁴ that the original Dorians came from some district north of the Greek mainland, but the route by which they entered the Peloponnesus is a matter of dispute. Some⁵ hold that, having reached the districts west of Boeotia, they set sail, and after passing along the west coast of the Peloponnesus and rounding its southern point, they spread out in various directions, some of them to the islands of the Aegean,⁶ some to the coast of Asia Minor,⁷ and some to the southern parts of the Greek peninsula. According to this view the states of the Peloponnesus were Dorized from the south.

Most of those who hold the above view also maintain that Megaris was colonized from the south by Argos,⁸ for the latter claimed to be the premier Dorian state of the Peloponnesus. But there is little evidence that Megara and Argos were ever closely associated. The only points of contact seem to be the one feature of similarity between the Megarian and Heraean traditions noticed above,⁹ and this is more than offset by the absence of any traces of Hera worship in

³ From the point of view of the dialects it is known as the expansion of the West Greeks in Northern Greece and into the Peloponnesus. See Buck, *l. c.*, p. 19.

⁴ Beloch, however (*Rh. Mus.* XLV, 1890, pp. 555-96), Kahrstedt (*Neue Jahrb.*, 1919, p. 71) and Niese (*Hist. Ztsch. N. F.* XXVI, pp. 69, 71 f.) deny entirely the historical character of the tradition. Meyer (*op. cit.* II, p. 72) seems to be somewhat skeptical on the point.

⁵ E. g. Bury, Wilamowitz, Busolt, Grote.

⁶ Such islands as Crete, Thera, Melos. But Strabo (XIV, 653) says that Dorian colonists came from Megara to Crete and Rhodes. Cf. Cauer, *Parteien u. Politiker in Megara u. Athen*, pp. 42 f.

⁷ For example, Pamphylia, which preserved the name of one of the three Dorian tribes, the Παμφυλῶι.

⁸ Bury, *A History of Greece*, 1924, pp. 62 f.; Beloch (*Griech. Gesch.* I, p. 142) makes Dorians = Achaeans; Wilamowitz (*Hom. Unters.* p. 252) has them come from the south. Cf. Wade-Gery in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* III, 1925, pp. 528 ff.

⁹ See Chapter III, s. v. *Car* and note 2.

Megara.¹⁰ Later events seem to have brought the two together, but so far as we know, there was no close connection between them until 243 B. C.¹¹

Tradition asserts and archaeology¹² seems to show that it is more likely that the Dorians moved down from the north in two streams, an eastern and a western. The western stream seems to have had comparatively little influence, but the eastern apparently came from the general direction of Thessaly and the north over the Boeotian plains, north Attica, and Megaris to Corinth. While the Dorians established themselves in Attica for a while,¹³ it was in the Peloponnesus that

¹⁰ See Chapter II, *s. v. Hera*.

¹¹ In 243 B. C. Megara joined the Achaean League, and Argos did so a few years later (Holm, *op. cit.* IV, p. 260). About this time Argos was importing Megarian vases (Waldstein, *op. cit.* II, pp. 182 f.). Wade-Gery (*l. c.*) repeats the Argive claim to early pre-eminence in the Peloponnesus and even on the Isthmus, making Corinth and Megara spheres of Argive influence. In doing this he follows Bury (*Camb. Anc. Hist.* IV, 1926, p. 470, n. 1) by making Sicyon, Corinth and Megara along with Argos use the Eastern Greek alphabet by exception, whereas the Peloponnesus generally used the Western. But the Dorians generally (Peloponnesus, Isthmus, etc.) used the Western Greek alphabet (See Buck, *Greek Dialects*, pp. 10 ff.), and such an argument from the dialects proves nothing more than affinity of racial stock.

¹² For a recent discussion of the Dorian Invasion in the light of archaeology see S. Casson in the *Antiquaries Journal*, I, 1921, No. 3, pp. 199-221. Cf. Harland, "The Peloponnesos in the Bronze Age," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXIV, pp. 46 f. Bates (*A. J. P.* XLVI, 1925, pp. 263-67) has recently reviewed this subject, re-affirming the historicity of the Dorian Invasion, arguing for the traditional date of about 1100 B. C. He too takes Achaean as the ethnic name of the Homeric Greeks but argues that their language is not "Dorian" but the Linear Script B of Minoan, of about 1400 B. C., and therefore close to Homeric Greek. Cf. Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, I, pp. 54 ff. This seems to be much more rational than to attempt to equate Achaeans and Dorians in any sense at all. Buck (*Cl. Phil.* XXI, p. 4) admits the possibility of this linear script being Greek but is inclined to doubt it, attributing it rather to the surviving non-Greek element.

¹³ Casson (*l. c.* p. 207) says: "Bronzes in large numbers have

they became strong enough to constitute the ruling class and develop a culture characteristic of the invader and differing radically from the culture of the mainland before 1100 B. C.¹⁴ On this point both archaeological remains and tradition¹⁵ are in harmony; and since it is evident that Megaris was in direct line of the movement and became Dorized both in her language and institutions, it is not surprising to find remnants of the characteristic Geometric ware at several places.¹⁶ That the finds are not more abundant is probably due to lack of extensive excavation and to the hard fate that the country has suffered at the hands of successive invaders since the time even of Minos.

A late tradition¹⁷ also said that the Megarians were colo-

been found in the pre-Persian strata on the Acropolis identical in type with those from Sparta. . . . Geometric pottery also occurs on the Acropolis." Strangely enough it was in non-Dorian Attica that the Dorian style seems to have been most vigorously developed (Casson and E. Gardner, *l. c.* p. 217 ff.).

¹⁴ This seems to be about the time that the second invasion began. But L. Pareti, *Storia di Sparta Arcaica*, Florence, 1917, pp. 139 f., (quoted by Casson, *l. c.* p. 199) dates the beginning of the invasion in the fifteenth century. This writer makes the Dorians = Achaeans, just as some others do, and denies that they had anything to do with the destruction of Mycenaean art or the growth of Geometric ware. The invasion probably occupied the greater part of a century and consisted of continuous infiltration of Dorian stock. Not all the later Dorian states were colonized at once.

¹⁵ The literary tradition is given by Herodotus (VIII, 43, 73; IX, 26); Pausanias (II, 13, 1; V, 1, 2; VI, 25, 2; VIII, 5, 1); Stephanus of Byzantium (*s. v.* Δέριον); Diod. Sic. IV, 58. Cf. Müller, *Dorians*, I, pp. 66 ff. This eastern invasion is the earlier one.

¹⁶ See Bölte and Weicker, *l. c.* But some authorities attribute Geometric pottery to the native races and not to the invading Dorians. The term "Geometric" is a very general one and covers a wide range of ceramic work.

¹⁷ See Busolt, *op. cit.* I, p. 220, note 3, and Cauer, *op. cit.* pp. 40 ff. Cf. Müller, *op. cit.* I, pp. 102 ff. Curtius *Griech. Gesch.* I, p. 266, apparently accepts this view, and Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.* p. 252, quotes Niese to the effect that Megara's absence in Homer is due to the fact that it was one of the latest Dorian colonies, later than Corinth.

nists from Corinth, but we must reject this tradition. No doubt this claim on the part of Corinth was the result of a natural antipathy felt toward Megara, and contains perhaps bitter recollections of that memorable defeat when the Megarians were able to erect their Treasury at Olympia from the spoils taken from Corinth.

We seem justified, therefore, in taking the view that the Dorians came into Megaris from the north.¹⁸ But while they were clearly the ruling class from this time on, they could not completely subject the former inhabitants as happened in Laconia. The form of government that they finally established was an aristocracy based upon three tribes, the Hylleis, Pamphytes and Dymanes, which existed as late as Roman times.¹⁹ But the old pre-Dorian element constantly reasserted itself in the conflict between aristocracy and democracy, and the government at most periods was very unstable.

With the coming of the Dorians the country was definitely separated from Attica and probably at this time named *Μεγαρίς*, after the principal city *Μέγαρα*, and the people *Μεγαρείς*.²⁰ It is therefore very probable that by this time

¹⁸ Strabo (VII, 333) says: τῶν δ' Ἡρακλειδῶν τοὺς Δωριέας καταγαγόντων, ὑφ' ὧν τὰ τε Μέγαρα ᾤκισθη καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων. Cauer, *op. cit.* pp. 42 ff., takes this statement to mean that Megara was founded before the other Peloponnesian states. Herodotus (V, 76) says that the Dorians established themselves in Megara after an unsuccessful attack upon Attica. Ephorus, and after him Pseudo-Scymnus (503-5), states that the Corinthians and Messenians had a part but that the Dorians generally founded Megara. No doubt colonists came from several directions at one time or another. Cf. the mixed population of the Megarian colonies themselves in historical times.

¹⁹ See Collitz-Bechtel, *S. G. D. I.* No. 3025; I. G. VII, 67, 70, 71, 73. The distinctive common features of the Dorians in the strictest sense were the festival of the Carneia, the cult of Apollo Pythius, and this threefold tribal division (Wade-Gery, *l. c.* p. 525).

²⁰ The form of the name of the country varied. In prose it is ἡ *Μεγαρίς* (Strabo, IX, 390; Polyb. IV, 67, 7) or ἡ *Μεγαρική*. In poetry we find ἡ *Μεγαρηίς* and ἡ *Μεγαρίτις* (Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Μέγαρα; Athen. XV, 683 b). After the colonization of Megara Hyblaea in

Megara had become the ruling city, whereas previously, according to Plutarch,²¹ the country had been organized into five hamlets, Heraea, Piraea, Megara, Cynosura, and Tripodiscus. A similar organization was set up at Sparta.

But the Dorism of Megara was not of the extreme type such as we find it in Laconia. It was mild, due no doubt in considerable measure to the city's proximity to Athens and to its peculiar location on the Isthmus which, from the first, had kept it in the path of cosmopolitan influences. The language itself was a modified Doric. Nevertheless, the country for the most part sympathized with Dorian civilization and the Dorian cause as represented by the Peloponnesus, and was sometimes regarded as the beginning of the latter.²²

Sicily, to distinguish the mother country from the colony, the former was sometimes called *Νισαία Μεγαρή* (Athen. *l. c.*) and the people *Νισαῖοι Μεγαρεῖς* or *Μεγαρήες* (Diod. Sic. XI, 53; Theocr. *Id.* XII, 27; Ap. Rh. II, 747) or *Μεγαρεῖς οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ἀττικῇ* (Paus. VI, 19). Wade-Gery (*Camb. Anc. History*, II, 1924, p. 534) points out that there is no conqueror's name for Megara, and Strabo (IX, 392 f.; XIV, 653) explained this by claiming that the Dorians founded it.

²¹ Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 17. Cf. Müller, *op. cit.* I, pp. 102 ff.

²² Strabo III, 171. But the Athenians claimed that Theseus annexed Megara to Attica and set up on the Isthmus a pillar that indicated the boundary-line between "Ionia" and "the Peloponnesus" (Plutarch, *Thes.* 25; Strabo, *l. c.*).

CHAPTER V

THE PERIOD OF COLONIZATION

For Greek colonization in general see especially Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* I², pp. 262 ff.; Gwynn, *J. H. S.* XXXVIII, 1918, pp. 88 ff.; Myres, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* III, 1925, pp. 631 ff. For the influence of Delphi see Pease, *Cl. Phil.* XII, 1917, pp. 1 ff. For conditions leading the Greek states to colonize and carry on trade see Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 86 ff.; Leaf, *Homer and History*, pp. 58 f.; Hall, *Anc. Hist. of the Near East*, pp. 531 f.; Glotz, *Ancient Greece at Work*, New York, 1926, pp. 98 ff.; Bury and Hogarth, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* II, pp. 493 f., 547. Whibley, *Greek Oligarchies*, 1896, pp. 72 ff., gives a good discussion of the change from aristocracy to oligarchy, which is intimately connected with the subject of colonization. Prentice, *T. A. P. A.* LVI, 1925, pp. 162 ff., also gives some useful suggestions. See also Rostovtzeff *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, 1922, especially pp. 61-82. For Megara the only studies are by Köppner, "Der Dialekt Megaras u. die megarischen Kolonien," *Jahrb. f. class. Philol. Suppl.* XVIII, 1892, pp. 592 ff., and Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 1913, pp. 436 ff.

The period that followed the Dorian Invasion and is commonly known as the Dark Age lasted until about the beginning of the eighth century. This period witnessed, among other things, the rise, decline and final disappearance of the Phoenicians as the leading commercial people of the Aegean. That they established trading posts on the Greek mainland is shown especially by the traditions preserved on the Isthmus;¹ and Bérard has been led to consider Megara as a typical Phoenician trading center.² However that may be, it is generally supposed that the disappearance of the Phoenicians permitted the Greeks to expand seaward, as we find the latter during the eighth century planting colonies in many remote districts. Pirates also were now under control.³

Late authorities claim that for a time after the Dorian

¹ See E. Maass, *Die Griechen u. Semiten auf dem Isthmus von Korinth*, Berlin, 1902.

² V. Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odysée*, I, pp. 192 ff.

³ Gwynn, *l. c.* p. 90, after Beloch *Gr. Gesch.* I², pp. 229-32, 282.

Invasion Megara was subject to Corinth.⁴ To what extent this subjection was carried they do not state, but at most it probably did not go beyond the possession of a strip of territory along the western edge of Megaris where in all probability the contest centered about the level plain in the neighborhood of the *diolkos* mentioned by Strabo,⁵ or possibly it was a contest for the *diolkos* itself. From early times this narrow point on the Isthmus, where ships were dragged overland from sea to sea and where in much later times a canal was constructed,⁶ was of prime importance to trade in the west; and it is only logical to suppose that at this time Megara and Corinth were carrying on, in the spirit of borderers, a contest for the prized passage over the Isthmus as did Chalcis and Eretria in later times their contest for the Lelantine Plain in Euboea. Or, possibly the dispute centered about the vicinity of Crommyon as it frequently did in later times. This was originally a town of Megaris but in historical times

⁴ Paus. I, 39, 4; Schol. on Pindar, *Nem.* VII, 155; Zenob. V, 8, Diogen. VI, 34; Schol. on Aristoph. *Ran.* 439; Hesych. and Suidas, s. v. Μεγαρέων δάκρυα. So Meyer, *Gesch. des Alt.* II, p. 268. We are told (Hicks and Hill, *Greek Hist. Insc.*³ No. 1; Paus. I, 44, 1) that Orsippus, who won a foot-race at Olympia in 720 B. C., afterward led the Megarians against the Corinthians and took from them some disputed territory. Pausanias also states (VI, 19, 13) that the Megarians built their Treasury at Olympia out of the spoils taken from the Corinthians during the archonship of Phorbas at Athens; but the text is corrupt, and the style of the Treasury belongs to the seventh century, not later than 600 B. C. The time of the building has been variously placed—678-628 B. C., the great period of colonization, or c. 625-600 B. C., "the times of Theagenes the tyrant." The earlier period is more appropriate even if the spoils were kept for a considerable time after they had been taken. See in general Dyer, *J. H. S.* XXVI, 1906, pp. 59 ff.

⁵ Strabo, VIII, 335. Vogt (*op. cit.* p. 41) rightly opposes the view that Megara was ever completely subjected to Corinth and quotes Plutarch (*Qu. Gr.* 17): ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐπεβούλευον ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσασθαι τὴν Μεγαρικὴν.

⁶ It was begun by Nero in A. D. 67 and completed by a Greek company in 1893. See E. A. Gardner in *Encyc. Brit.*¹¹ s. v. *Corinth*.

it belonged to Corinth.⁷ At any rate during the reign of the Bacchiadae, we are informed,⁸ Megara freed herself from Corinth although the dispute over boundaries never ceased⁹ and extended even down to Roman times.¹⁰

In a previous chapter we described how in early times under the kings Megara had grown so much in population that a third hill was occupied along the southern coast. It is therefore not surprising to find that, during the period beginning with the second half of the eighth century, further expansion took place in the form of colonies sent to Sicily and to the region of the Black Sea. Over-population¹¹ and desire for trade must have been potent factors in this movement, but they were not the only controlling motives. Megara was now governed by the Dorian aristocracy, and continual revolts against the established government, of which we hear from time to time, indicate a restlessness and dissatisfaction with the ruling class which no doubt had much to do with the colonizing movement. But the barrenness of the soil made it impossible for the people to live on local products alone, hence the economic factor was of prime importance. When we recall that the Isthmus was very probably densely populated for many generations before the Dorian Conquest, it is clear that intensive cultivation of the Megarian plain had by this time exhausted the soil to a considerable degree. For the Dorian aristocratic families, wealth now consisted almost entirely of

⁷ See above, Ch. I, p. 27 and notes.

⁸ The proverb *ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος* is always associated with this event. See the scholiasts on Pindar and Aristophanes cited in note 4 above, and Paus. VI, 19, 13.

⁹ Cf. Plut. *De Her. Mal.* 35.

¹⁰ Livy, XXXI, 22.

¹¹ On this subject see especially Gwynn, *l. c.* pp. 88-98. Plato, *Laws*, 740 E, considers colonization a final resort for equalizing population and food supply. Cf. Trever, *A History of Greek Economic Thought*, 1916, p. 46. Thucydides, I, 15, 1, says of these early times: *ἐπιπλέοντες γὰρ τὰς νήσους κατεστρέφοντο, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι μὴ διαρκῆ εἶχον χώραν*. Cf. Isoc. *Paneg.* 34-38. Herodotus, IV, 24 and VII, 158, mentions the Euxine as an exporting point and speaks of the value of Sicilian trade.

land. To what extent, if at all, the Megarian colonists were led on by mere love of adventure, it is impossible to say.¹²

Megara was first drawn toward Sicily. This island, rich in natural resources, was a powerful attraction to a commercial people, for an important line of trade ran round the promontory of Malea across to Sicily, and thence to the western coasts of Italy, Gaul and Spain. The northern route across the Isthmus and through the Corinthian Gulf was shorter and safer but was pretty well dominated by Corinth. From Sicily came grain and cheese, and from the forests of South Italy wood.¹³ For a while, therefore, Megara dispatched colonists in the same direction as did her old rival Corinth. But the latter's position on the Gulf gave her a distinct commercial advantage in the west,¹⁴ and it was this, no doubt, that led Megara ultimately to seek expansion in another direction.

The first western settlement was on the eastern coast of Sicily only twelve miles north-northwest of Syracuse. Here, after three preliminary attempts, a permanent city was founded. The traditional date is 728-26 B. C.¹⁵ The leader

¹² Bury, *Hist. of Greece*, pp. 89 f., emphasizes the influence of the legend of the Argonautic expedition in connection with the colonization of the Euxine. Megara's colony Heraclea Pontica was in the path of the Argonauts (Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* II, 746-8). The influence of Olympia through the games may also have done much to attract Megara, like other Greek states, toward Sicily. Cf. E. Norman Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, p. 55.

¹³ P. Gardner, *A History of Ancient Coinage*, p. 8. The natural course from the Corinthian Gulf to Sicily was by way of Coreyra (Thuc. I, 36, 2-3).

¹⁴ Frank, *An Economic History of Rome*, p. 17.

¹⁵ See Thuc. VI, 4; Diod. IV, 78; Strabo, VI, 267; Freeman, *History of Sicily*, I, pp. 381 ff. But Ephorus (Strabo, VI, 267, 269) put its founding in the tenth generation after the Trojan War, which would make it the oldest city in Sicily after Naxos. Ephorus also claimed (Strabo, VI, 270) that Syracuse was founded after Megara Hyblaea and that Archias, the *οικιστής*, was aided by the people of Megara Hyblaea in the undertaking. The Megarians first stopped at Trotilon, then at Leontini, a Chalcidian colony;

Lamis died at the third station, and the colonists now pressed on to a fourth site where, we are told, the newcomers were befriended by a native king, who betrayed the place to them. They named the new city "Megara Hyblaea" from the town Hybla located nearby.¹⁶ It was situated on the shore of a bay¹⁷ and between two streams that emptied into the bay. The site chosen was a low promontory without acropolis. In later times, when the city became more prominent, the name was simply Hybla.¹⁸ But this first colony was not of great importance, as its position was disadvantageous. Its political organization was an aristocracy, as is clearly shown by the friendly reception accorded Theognis,¹⁹ but its political history is unimportant.²⁰ Since the time of Solon it had belonged to the province of Syracuse²¹ and was a small stronghold.²² In 483 B. C. the Megarians were driven out by the

then driven out by the Chalcidians they went to Thapsus, from which they were likewise driven out after the death of Lamis.

The traditional dates of the Greek colonies in Sicily have been criticised as being much too early. See on the Olympian Register Mahaffy, *J. H. S.* II, pp. 164 ff. = *Problems of Greek History*, App; Körte, *Hermes*, XXXIX, 1904, pp. 481 ff.; Brinkmann, *Rh. Mus.* LXX, 1915, pp. 622 f.; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* I², pp. 148 f. It is probable, however, that these dates are fairly close to the facts. Cf. Wells, *Studies in Herodotus*, 1923, p. 73; E. Norman Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, pp. 50 f.

¹⁶ For the location see Freeman's map opp. p. 348, *cp. cit.* On the distinction between Grecian and Sicilian Megara see above, Ch. IV, n. 20. There were three towns called Hybla and they were always distinguished. The Megarian Hybla was always the most important. According to Thucydides, *l. c.*, the king who befriended the settlers was Hyblon. Megarian Hybla was famous for its honey (Strabo, VI, 267. Cf. Shakespeare, *J. C. V.* 1. 34, *H. A.* 2.47) and in Roman times the bee appeared on its coins.

¹⁷ Mentioned by Vergil, *Aen.* III, 689.

¹⁸ Strabo, *l. c.*; Ovid, *Trist.* V, 13, 22; Ps.-Scymnus, 276.

¹⁹ Theognis, *El.* 783-6.

²⁰ See Forbiger in Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v. Megara*. For the coins, Head, *Hist. Num.*² p. 171.

²¹ Hdt. VII, 156; Thuc. VI, 94, 1.

²² Thuc. VI, 75, 94; Livy, XXIV, 30.

tyrant Gelo, 245 years after its founding.²³ In 415 it was pointed out as a desirable base for Athenian operations against Syracuse, which had erected a fort there.²⁴ It was plundered by the Romans²⁵ and thereafter became still more obscure. It is called "Megaris" by Cicero²⁶ and Mela.²⁷ It did not exist in Strabo's day,²⁸ and at present there are only a few traces of it.²⁹

One hundred years after its founding Megara Hyblaea colonized Selinus on the southwestern coast.³⁰ Colonists from the mother-country in Greece had a part, and the *oecist* was Pamillus, also of Nisaeon Megara. The site chosen had Phoenicians on one side and Sicans on the other. It was a low, sandy hill by the coast. The name has been explained by some as of Phoenician origin,³¹ but the local derivation was taken from the abundance of wild celery that grew there.³² Judging from the cults,³ we may conclude that Selinus, like its predecessor and mother-city, preserved a

²³ Thuc. VI, 4.

²⁴ Thuc. VI, 49.

²⁵ Livy, XXIV, 35.

²⁶ Cicero, *Verr.* V, 25.

²⁷ Mela, II, 7, 16. Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* III, 89.

²⁸ Strabo, VI, 267.

²⁹ For the excavations see *Monumenti Antichi*, 1922, pp. 108 ff., with plates.

³⁰ Thuc. VI, 4; Diod. XIII, 59; Strabo, VIII, 387; Freeman, *op. cit.* I, pp. 418 ff.; H. Reinganum, *Selinus und sein Gebiet*, Leipzig, 1827. On the various dates see Myres, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* III, p. 672, n. 2. Strabo, *l. c.*, states that the Megarians had been driven out by the Carthaginians.

³¹ See Freeman, *l. c.* p. 262, n. 2.

³² From *σέλινον*, prob. *apium grave olens*. The celery leaf is represented on the early coins. But after the battle of Himera in 480 B. C., when the invading Carthaginians were defeated by the Greeks under the joint leadership of Gelo and Hiero, Selinus became more prosperous and struck much finer coins. Apollo and Artemis, Heracles, and Asclepius are now figured. See Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, pp. 83-6; Head, *op. cit.* pp. 167-9.

³³ There were cults to Apollo, Demeter, Hera, Athena, Zeus, Poseidon, Heracles, Phobos. See the ISS. in Collitz-Bechtel, *S. G. D. I.* Nos. 3044-50, and the following notes of this chapter.

fairly close relationship with the mother-country in Greece during its early years.

Selinus was the nearest to Africa of the Greek Sicilian cities. Its acropolis was fortified with a wall, remains of which can still be seen. Because of the peculiar topography of the place its temples stood to the east and west outside the city walls.³⁴ Vergil speaks of the city as palm-covered.³⁵

The history of Selinus is a long one, but only a brief sketch will be attempted here.³⁶ During the Carthaginian invasion of Sicily in 480, Selinus took the side of the invaders. But after the expulsion of the tyrants in 466, it became very powerful and wealthy. From this date down to 416 events centered largely about local Sicilian affairs. In 416, however, the city became involved in a dispute with its neighbor Segesta, which appealed to Athens for aid. The latter sent envoys to investigate conditions in Sicily and this ultimately led to the disastrous Sicilian expedition. From 416 to 409 Selinus was thus involved in the great conflict of Greek against Greek, an account of which will be given in later chapters of the present study. In 409 the city was invaded and pillaged by the Carthaginians and thereafter declined. It thereupon ceased to strike coins. Both Selinus and Megara Hyblaea to a certain extent felt the quickening influence of Sicilian culture, as is shown by the sculpture³⁷ and coins,³⁸ and the former also influenced its rival Segesta.

Megara's hold on Sicily was clearly very precarious. She

³⁴ See Koldewey und Puchstein, *Die griechische Tempel im Unteritalien und Sikilien*, Berlin, 1899, pp. 77 ff.

³⁵ Vergil, *Aen.* III, 705.

³⁶ For this subject Reinganum, *op. cit.* pp. 101 ff., gives the sources very completely. Cf. also Freeman, *History of Sicily*.

³⁷ See Benndorf, *Die Metopen von Selinunt*; Gardner, *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 161-5. Like the mother-country Megara in Greece, Selinus also built a Treasury at Olympia (Paus. VI, 19, 10), which is to be dated probably in the second half of the sixth century B.C. See Dyer, *J. H. S.* XXV, 1905, pp. 294 ff.; XXVI, pp. 70-73.

³⁸ See especially the discussion of Hill, *l. c.*

had been compelled to take up whatever sites were left, and none of these was very desirable; for they were disadvantageous both as regards their topography and their geographical location. They must have been felt to be very unsatisfactory extensions of the home country.

It seems logical to introduce at this point the question of the Lelantine War. This episode has been much discussed and is still a subject of much uncertainty.³⁹ The war probably closed about the end of the seventh century. Commercial leagues had existed since Mycenaean times, and in the present case it was commercial rivalry between Chalcis and Eretria, the respective heads of two such leagues, that disrupted the Greek world. It is true that Megara is nowhere named by our sources in this connection, but Thucydides says ⁴⁰ that the rest of the Greek world was involved in this contest, siding

³⁹ K. F. Hermann, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen und Beiträge*, Göttingen, 1849, pp. 197 ff., argues that as Chalcis and Eretria were borderers they probably engaged in repeated conflicts over this plain; Costanzi, *Atene e Roma*, V, 1902, pp. 768 ff. in a careful study maintains that the war must have occurred not later than 590-86 B. C., and takes Theognis, 891-4, as referring to this war; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* I², pp. 456 f., dates it at the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century; Meyer, *Gesch. des Alt.* II, p. 539, thinks it was at its height during the middle of the seventh century; Dunham, *The History of Miletus*, pp. 65 ff., reviews the different questions at issue; Harrison, *Studies in Theognis*, pp. 286 ff., thinks that only Chalcis, Eretria, Samos and Miletus took part in the conflict, as the war was not of great importance—merely a land battle, on the authority of Thuc. I, 13-15; Trever, *Cl. Phil.* XX, 1925, pp. 120 f., dates the war in the period 655-581 B. C. on the basis of the emended passage in Theognis, 891-4; there is a short account by Cary, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* III, 1925, pp. 621-3.

Theognis, 891-4, may possibly refer to the Lelantine War or to some other internal strife in Euboea. Historically it is better to refer it to the latter. The line *οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ φεύγουσι, πόλιν δὲ κακοὶ διέπουσιν* exactly describes a democratic uprising similar to the one at Megara during which Theognis was banished and lost his property; or to the rise of some tyrant, as line 894 suggests. But the passage is very general. See Hudson-William *ad loc.* During his exile Theognis had visited Euboea (*El.* 784).

⁴⁰ Thuc. I, 15, 3.

with either Eretria or Chalcis; and since Herodotus⁴¹ names Miletus and Eretria as allied against Samos and Chalcis, the idea of a general conflict between the members of the two leagues seems only logical, as any member could ill afford to stand aloof in such a contest. That Megara was friendly to Miletus is shown by subsequent colonization by the former in a district where the latter was already active; and that Miletus was interested in western trade is shown especially by her alliance with Sybaris.⁴² Allied with Chalcis, therefore, were Samos, Naxos and Corinth. The older league headed by Eretria had as its members Miletus, Paros, Aegina and Megara.

There had been long continued rivalry between these leagues for the control of the western stream of commerce which passed over the Isthmus at Corinth, but the immediate occasion of the outbreak of hostilities in the present case seems to have been the attempts of both Chalcis and Eretria to control the fertile Lelantine plain in Euboea. Of the precise time or duration of the war we cannot be certain, but it seems to have been long continued, and we may date its close soon after the beginning of the seventh century. As a result of the exhausting conflict Eretria and her allies were defeated and lost control of the west.⁴³ Henceforth they confined their activities to the east. The immediate effect of the war upon Megara very probably was to stop her expansion in Sicily and turn her attention to the east where her ally Miletus was already active.⁴⁴

Miletus was the pioneer among Greek cities in carrying on

⁴¹ Hdt. V, 99.

⁴² Hdt. VI, 21.

⁴³ Hdt. V, 77; VI, 100; Dunham, *op. cit.* p. 68.

⁴⁴ Wade-Gery, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* III, 1925, pp. 540 ff., on very slight evidence sees in Megara's expansion toward the Pontic district the guiding hand of Phidon of Argos, who was now, he thinks, playing Megara against Corinth. But Wade-Gery is committed to the theory of Argos' early predominance in the Peloponnesus and on the Isthmus, and considers Megara a colony of Argos. See above, Ch. IV, and n. 11.

trade in the regions about the Black Sea, but Megara led the way for the Greeks of the west in establishing permanent trading centers. According to one tradition she first settled Astacus at the head of a deep bay which indents the south shore of the Propontis in Bithynia.⁴⁵ The first significant colony, however, was Chalcedon founded 689-75 B. C. according to various traditional dates.⁴⁶ It was located on the south shore of the eastern promontory which forms the entrance to the Pontus. The *oecist* is said to have been Archias.⁴⁷ But according to Herodotus,⁴⁸ the oracle of Apollo declared those colonists blind because they stopped here rather than at the later, more important place of settlement—Byzantium. The passages of the Pontus are difficult because of the strong, shifting current and the rush of wind through the straits. The natural course through the Propontis was to hug the northern, and not the southern, shore—which would have carried the Megarians to the later Byzantium. But Chalcedon lies outside the sweep of the current with quiet bay. The choice of such a location, therefore, suggests that the colonists at present were more concerned with agriculture than with trade.⁴⁹ The inscriptions⁵⁰ show that there were cults of

⁴⁵ About 710 B. C. See Busolt, *op. cit.* I², p. 472 and n. 5; Ruge in Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v.* *Astakos* 2. But one early tradition, to which Busolt is inclined to give some credence, calls Astacus a colony of Chalcedon, which means that it could not have been founded before 689.

⁴⁶ See Hdt. IV, 144; Thuc. IV, 75; Strabo, XII, 563. The local Dorian form of the name was *Καλχηδών*, while *Χαλκηδών* is the form that is found in various writers. See Busolt, *op. cit.* I², p. 472, n. 1.

⁴⁷ Mela, I, 101.

⁴⁸ Hdt. IV, 144. Cf. Strabo, VII, 320; Tacitus, *Ann.* XII, 63; Pliny, *N. H.* V, 149. According to Herodotus, some claimed that it was a colony of Chalcis, and Bérard, *op. cit.* I, pp. 43, 181, 237, 458, gave it a pre-Greek, Phoenician origin. The famous statement regarding the blindness of its founders was probably originally a human remark which was later turned into an oracle. See Pease, *Cl. Phil.* XII, 1917, p. 13; Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*⁴, p. 29, note.

⁴⁹ Cf. Zimmern, *op. cit.* p. 29.

⁵⁰ See Collitz-Bechtel, *S. G. D. I.* Nos. 3051-6. The dialect is clearly Dorian.

Aphrodite and of the Twelve Gods, and that the institutions were similar to those at Megara.

The Megarians next moved to the north shore of the Propontis where they settled Selymbria. But the surrounding territory was Thracian, and the city never became important, being hard pressed by the native tribes.⁵¹ In fact, both Chalcedon and Selymbria appear to have been mere experiments, since after Byzantium was established, Selymbria especially ceased to be important commercially.⁵² The inscriptions⁵³ tell something about its institutions and customs.

Of all Megarian colonies Byzantium, established seventeen years after Chalcedon,⁵⁴ was by far the most important. To appreciate this importance we need but recall that the trade route through the Propontis into the Pontus was one of the most valuable of all such early routes. From this region the Greek world received its food supply and raw materials of manufacture as well as slaves. Hence came grain, fish, flax, hemp and timber. At all times that city which controlled the gates to the Euxine held the greatest commercial importance in Greece. And the most important of these gates was guarded by Byzantium.⁵⁵ It was for this reason that the ancients believed its site was fixed by the Delphic oracle.

⁵¹ Ps.-Scymnus, 715 f.; Hdt. VI, 33; Strabo, VII, 319. The Doric form of the name appears in the ISS. and on the coins. On the spelling see Busolt, *op. cit.* p. 470, n. 3. Strabo (*l. c.*) points out its Thracian origin. Cf. also Mesambria.

⁵² Xen. *Anab.* II, 6, 2; *Hell.* I, 1, 21; Plut. *Alcib.* 30.

⁵³ See Collitz-Bechtel, *S. G. D. I.* Nos. 3068, 3071-2.

⁵⁴ Hdt. IV, 144; Strabo, VII, 320; Ps.-Scymnus, 717; Hesych. *Mil.*, in Müller, *F. H. G.* IV, p. 147; Steph. Byz. *s. v.* The traditional date as given by Eusebius and Jerome was 660-57 B. C.

⁵⁵ Cf. P. Gardner, *op. cit.* p. 6. For the natural products of the Euxine district see Polyb. IV, 38; Dunham, *op. cit.* pp. 15 ff.; Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 440; Robinson, *A. J. P.* XXVII, 1906, pp. 140-144. Gardner, *op. cit.* p. 7, names the dominant cities of this district chronologically as Miletus (to 500 B. C.), Aegina, Athens (the time of the Athenian empire), etc. But Megara must have supplanted Miletus to a considerable extent during the seventh and sixth centuries, as the planting of colonies in this district would

The significance, therefore, of this move on the part of Megara cannot be overestimated. While perhaps the full value of the site was not appreciated for a good many centuries⁵⁶ its importance has continued throughout its entire history. Geographically it was located at a strategic point of the hinterland to Asia Minor, which itself is the hinterland to Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Mesopotamia. In other words, Byzantium was destined to become the key to the east. And when in 330 A. D. its name was changed to Constantinople it became the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire and a great bulwark to the same.⁵⁷

Argives⁵⁸ and Boeotians,⁵⁹ as well as many other peoples,⁶⁰ are said to have had a part in founding Byzantium. Nevertheless, the city retained the essential features of the religious

suggest. For the relations of Miletus and Megara see Dunham, *op. cit.* pp. 67 f.

⁵⁶ Cf. Bury, *op. cit.* p. 90. But by the fourth century B. C. its importance was clearly seen. See Xen. *Hell.* I, 1, 35; V, 1, 28; Dem. XVIII, 87.

⁵⁷ See Jastrow, *The War and the Bagdad Railway*, Philadelphia, 1918, pp. 60 ff. Dominian, *Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe*, New York, 1917, pp. 232 f., points out that after Troy, the great toll-station on the Hellespont, had been destroyed, Byzantium later came to the front as the great center of conflict in this district. And just as each city had a similar geographical background, so their histories ran parallel. For a somewhat different view of the character of Troy, see Leaf, *Troy*, pp. 257 ff.

⁵⁸ Hesych. Miles. in Müller, *F. H. G.* IV, p. 147; Head, *op. cit.* p. 266. The coins figure Io sometimes (Argive influence?) but usually Apollo, Athena, Demeter, Poseidon, Dionysus. See Head, *op. cit.* pp. 266 ff.

⁵⁹ Const. Porphy. *De Them.* 11, p. 46. The cult of Amphiaraus is mentioned by Dionysius of Byzantium, 63, and by Hesych. Miles. *F. H. G.* IV, p. 149.

⁶⁰ Late traditions show that in the course of time nearly every state claimed to have had a part in founding the city: Corinth, Lacedaemon, Boeotia, Mycenae, etc. Sometimes it was even called a colony of Attica, Miletus or Sparta. Probably about a generation after the first settlement additional colonists went out. See in general Svoronos, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. VII, 1889, pp. 75 ff.

practices and civil institutions of the mother-country, Megara.⁶¹

The histories of Byzantium and Chalcedon ran parallel during the Greek period.⁶² But these cities are not conspicuous until about the end of the sixth century. Their written history begins with the Scythian expedition of Darius I. About 450 B. C. they appear as important centers of traffic. Up to this time agriculture and fishing had been numbered among their chief industries, and for Chalcedon the latter always remained the chief activity. As Byzantium was always an important center for the export of grain we may conclude that Megara imported this article of food chiefly from her colony.

About 510 Byzantium and Chalcedon together founded Mesambria on the southwest shore of the Pontus.⁶³ The inscriptions⁶⁴ attest the worship of Apollo and Aphrodite.^{64a}

Next in order chronologically after Byzantium comes the founding of Heraclea Pontica. The circumstances are especially interesting. About the year 559, when Cyrus conquered Media,⁶⁵ Megarians and Boeotians from Tanagra⁶⁶ set out under the guidance of Apollo⁶⁷ and established on the shore of Bithynia a colony which was first a democracy

⁶¹ See Collitz-Bechtel, *S. G. D. I.* Nos. 3057-66.

⁶² See H. Merle, *Die Geschichte der Städte Byzantion und Kalchedon*, 1916, and Pauly-Wissowa, *s. v. Kalchedon*. Cf. *Rev. Arch.* XXI, 1925, pp. 1 ff. Byzantium also built a Treasury at Olympia (Paus. VI, 19, 9). The date cannot be definitely determined, but it must be put earlier than 513 B. C. See Dyer, *J. H. S.* XXVI, pp. 69 f.

⁶³ Hdt. VI, 33; Ps.-Scymnus, 741; Strabo, VII, 319.

⁶⁴ See Collitz-Bechtel, *S. G. D. I.* Nos. 3078-9.

^{64a} For the excavations see Kazarow, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXVI, 1911, pp. 308-16; *Arch. Anz.* 1918, pp. 4 ff.; Amelung, *ibid.* pp. 140 ff.

⁶⁵ Ps.-Scymnus, 975.

⁶⁶ Nymphis, frag. 2, *F. H. G.* III, p. 13; Paus. V, 28, 6; Diod. XIV, 31; Ps.-Scymnus 981 f. Cf. Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* II, 746 ff. But Justinus, XVI, 3, makes its founders Boeotians alone, and Strabo, XII, 542, also calls it a colony of Miletus.

⁶⁷ Justinus, *l. c.*

but later became an aristocracy.⁶⁸ This can only mean that the extreme democrats who had set up the violent democracy so bitterly attacked by Theognis⁶⁹ were finally deposed and compelled to flee from Megara. The natives called Mariandyni were forthwith enslaved and reduced to the status of serfs.⁷⁰ But even in the colonies at this period such extreme democracy could not long endure. Consequently, we find these same democrats later founding another colony in the Tauric Chersonesus.⁷¹ In fact, the Chersonesus became a Megarian center, according to Pliny.⁷² Another colony of Heraclea was Callatis on the west coast of the Euxine north of Mesambria.⁷³

The institutions of Heraclea were thoroughly Doric.⁷⁴ It became an influential city and perhaps is most famous as the birth-place of Heraclides Ponticus, a philosopher of the fourth century B. C. who wrote on mathematics, music, grammar, physics, history and rhetoric. He studied at Athens under Speusippus, Plato and Aristotle. At the time of the march of the Ten Thousand, Heraclea produced barley, wine, cattle and sheep.⁷⁵ Its greatest prosperity came in the latter part

⁶⁸ Aristotle, *Pol.* V, 1305 b; Minns, *op. cit.* p. 515; Whibley, *op. cit.* p. 122. For its location see Xen. *Anab.* VI, 2, 1; Arrian, *Peripl.* 184, 2; Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* II, 729-51. It was located on a promontory.

⁶⁹ See below, Ch. VIII. Plato, *Laws* 708 B, recommends colonization to relieve the tension of political strife in a country.

⁷⁰ Paus. V, 26, 7; Strabo, XII, 541. Cf. Nymphis, frag. 9.

⁷¹ The evidence for this is discussed by Minns, *op. cit.* pp. 493 ff., 515. See the ISS. in Collitz-Bechtel, *S. G. D. I.* Nos. 3085-88. The city of Chersonesus seems to have been originally an Ionian site, if we can judge by the vases found when the place was excavated. But later, when Miletus perhaps could no longer maintain her supremacy in this district, the city was *refounded* by Heraclea. See Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* p. 63.

⁷² Pliny, *N. H.* IV, 85.

⁷³ Strabo, VII, 319; XII, 542; Collitz-Bechtel, *S. G. D. I.* Nos. 3089-90. Recently excavated (*Rev. Arch.* XXI, 1925, pp. 238 ff.).

⁷⁴ Aristotle, *Pol.* I. c.; Foseidonius and Callistratus in Athenaeus, VI, 263 D, E.

⁷⁵ Xen. *Anab.* VI, 2, 3.

of the fourth century under its several tyrants. The coins down to 337 B. C. regularly show Heracles, but thereafter Dionysus is likewise frequently figured.⁷⁶ It is interesting to note that the connection of Cerberus with the entrance to the lower world comes from Heraclea.⁷⁷

Another site occasionally claimed as a Megarian colony ⁷⁸ is the island of Astypalia near Cos. But the inscriptions ⁷⁹ show that the dialect was Argolic, and the colony may have been sent out by Epidaurus.⁸⁰ We may likewise reject the statement of Joannes Lydus that Cyzicus was founded by Megara.⁸¹

Megarian colonization thus extended over a period of roughly 150 years. But Megara had not carried on her colonizing of the Pontic region without rivalry. About 600 B. C. Samos had established Perinthus west of Byzantium.⁸² This soon led to a conflict between Samians and Megarians, for we hear of a war between the two peoples in which 600 Megarians were taken captive.⁸³ Early in the sixth century the Athenians, during the time of Pisistratus, were likewise attempting to gain control of the Hellespont by taking Sigeum from Mytilene.⁸⁴

The Pontic colonies stand out in marked contrast to those of Sicily and in a very striking way recall many features of the home land, to which in the matter of productiveness they were indeed superior. Here the sites were chosen, whenever

⁷⁶ See Head, *op. cit.* pp. 514 f. Out of the spoils taken from the local Mariandyni, Heraclea dedicated at Olympia certain sculptured works representing the labors of Heracles (Paus V, 26, 7).

⁷⁷ See Pfister, *op. cit.* p. 46.

⁷⁸ Ps.-Scymnus, 551.

⁷⁹ See Collitz-Bechtel, *S. G. D. I.* Nos. 3059-85.

⁸⁰ See Busolt, *op. cit.* I², p. 354, n. 1. But on the dialect see Buck, *Gk. Dial.* p. 11, n. 8.

⁸¹ See Hasluck, *Cyzicus*, p. 164.

⁸² Plutarch, *Qu. Gr.* 57; Strabo, VII, frag. 56; Ps.-Scymnus, 714. See also Busolt, *Die Lakedaimonier*, I, pp. 24 f.; Meyer, *Gesch. des Alt. II*, p. 448.

⁸³ Plutarch, *l. c.*

⁸⁴ Hdt. V, 94 f.; Strabo, XIII, 599.

possible, with respect to the special requirements of the colonists—a promontory easily defended, a good harbor, fresh water, a certain amount of arable ground, timber for ship-building, a populous and productive hinterland.⁸⁵ But the Greeks here were mainly coast-dwellers, and their sphere was the sea. With the natives of the surrounding districts they could carry on extensive trade.

At this point the question naturally suggests itself, What relationship existed between Megara and her colonies? ⁸⁶ The answer depends upon several factors—the purpose for which the colony in each case was founded, the time of its founding, and the distance of the colony from the home-country. Furthermore, some of the colonies were of mixed population from the beginning, as we have already had occasion to observe. This last factor would tend very probably to introduce an element of independence that would not otherwise exist.

All of Megara's colonies were in Sicily or the Pontic district and therefore at a considerable distance from the home-country. With the exception of Heraclea Pontica and her daughter, Heraclea in the Tauric Chersonesus, they seem to have been sent out primarily because of over-population. In that respect they represent an extension of the home-country. Of course there must have been much discontent with the aristocratic government at home, but the cause of such discontent was ultimately economic and due to the land system. Desire for trade was likewise prominent, as the establishment

⁸⁵ See Xenophon's description (*Anab.* VI, 4, 3-6) of Calpe, the harbor in Bithynia near Heraclea, and cf. Bonner, *Cl. Jr.* XX, 1925, pp. 359 ff. For the advantageous location of Byzantium see Polyb. IV, 38. The main conditions of the model colony are given by Plato, *Laws* 704 ff., and by Aristotle, *Pol.* VII, 1327 a b, 1329 a, 24-6, 1330 a, 26 ff. Cf. also Homer, *Od.* IX, 116 ff. (the Isle-of-Goats); Hdt. IV, 157 f.; Zimmern, *op. cit.* p. 254, n. 2.

⁸⁶ For the general subject of mother-country and colony see Morris, *A. J. P.* V, 1884, pp. 479 ff.; Gwynn, *l. c.*; Hogarth, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* II, p. 561. There is but little positive evidence in our sources.

of Byzantium alone suggests. But it is not likely that mere adventure entered very largely into the movement.

From the little evidence we get from time to time, it is safe to conclude that Megara's colonies observed the relationship that theory required should exist between mother-country and colony.⁸⁷ Thus, such hospitality was shown by Megara Hyblaea to Theognis during his exile that Plato once spoke of the poet as a citizen of that colony.⁸⁸ During the period 416-13 B. C. we shall find the mother country and Selinus fighting side by side against Athens.⁸⁹ And toward the close of the Peloponnesian War Megara will be seen helping Byzantium and Chalcedon in their effort to hold out against Athens.

In his review of early Greek history Isocrates points out⁹⁰ that the effects of colonization upon the Greek states were great prosperity and abundant food-supply. Sicily and the Pontic region were the principal districts from which Greece derived her supply of grain. Furthermore, after Megara had penetrated the Pontus, particularly after her settlement of Byzantium, many slaves must have been imported into the home-country, since the majority of Greek slaves came from that region. This soon had an evil effect upon the poor laboring class and precipitated grave economic problems. Probably from this time on the landed aristocracy accumulated additional wealth very rapidly through cheap slave labor. This is the most rational explanation of the rise of tyranny under Theagenes.⁹¹

To the Pontic region, then, Megara sent her wine, olive oil, salt, and especially her coarse woolen garments in exchange for grain and slaves. Her trade during the seventh and sixth centuries may have been carried on almost exclusively in kind. This statement is suggested by the fact that no certain early

⁸⁷ For this theory see Gwynn, *l. c.* p. 118.

⁸⁸ Plato, *Laws* 630 A. This passage is a crux and will be discussed in a later connection.

⁸⁹ See below, Ch. XIII, p. 182 f.

⁹⁰ Isoc. *Paneg.* 38. Cf. Grundy, *Thucydides*, pp. 92 f.

⁹¹ See the following chapter of this study.

Megarian coins are known although some few have been conjecturally attributed to her.⁹² But if these colonies were sent out primarily to insure a larger food supply, we can well believe that each district produced what the other especially needed. Thus mother-country and colony worked for each other's benefit.

Profound economic changes were now undoubtedly brought about in the country. Whereas previously the wealth of the aristocracy was mainly in land, commerce and trade now began to be the chief activity of the richer classes. The poor likewise could now leave their former employment on the small estates and coming to Megara or Nisaea they could find work along many lines. Manufacturing in the former and the various activities of a seaport in the latter would attract them. Many would become sailors also. Nisaea especially must have been a busy, bustling city now.

The above survey shows Megara to be one of the great colonizing states of Greece taking her place beside Corinth, Chalcis, Eretria, Miletus and Phocaea. Her penetration of

⁹² Certain wheel-shaped copper obols and half-obols belonging to the seventh and sixth centuries have been given to Megara by Svoronos (*Jour. Int. d' Arch. Num.* 1898, pp. 372-4) because they were found along the southern coast; but they are without inscription and of Euboeic weight, hence Head (*op. cit.*, pp. 358, 393) and P. Gardner (*op. cit.* pp. 131 ff.) have expressed some doubt concerning their origin. In view of Megara's active colonizing during this period it does at first thought seem strange that she should not have early coins. But she possessed no silver mines (Isocrates, *Peace*, 117. Cf. Xen. *On. Rev.* IV, 46) and may have depended upon foreign coinage. Aristotle, who was always greatly interested in the subject of numismatics, mentions no Megarian coins. But the absence of coinage in early times, even in the case of great commercial cities, is not so unusual (Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, p. 15). Only three Greek states issued coins abundantly before 560 B. C.—Aegina, Corinth and Athens (Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage Before the Persian War*, p. 128). Neither Byzantium nor Chalcedon struck coins until late in the fifth century. In any case, Megara would probably have used the Aeginetan, rather than the Euboeic, standard since she belonged to the Eretrian league.

the Pontic region in spite of the distance and the difficulties of navigation offered by the rough waters of the Propontis speaks much for the bravery of her sailors. For with the blood of the early Aegeans flowing in their veins, the Megarians were good seamen, as we shall have abundant opportunity to observe in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER VI

TYRANNY

The most important special study of tyranny is by Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny*, Cambridge, 1922. This work carefully distinguishes the earlier and later tyrants, emphasizing the influence of the introduction of coinage and of commerce and industry upon the former in their rise to power. It is a great storehouse of facts and suggestive ideas however extreme some of its theories may be. Important also, especially for chronology, is the article by Wright, *Harvard Studies*, III, 1892, pp. 1-74, particularly pp. 61 ff. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* I², pp. 669 ff., and Meyer, *Gesch. des Alt.* II, pp. 630 f., have short but good accounts which likewise stress the economic factor. See also Glover, *Herodotus*, pp. 187 ff. The brief discussion of Trever, *Cl. Phil.* XX, 1925, pp. 125 f., stresses the economic factor likewise but does not add anything to previous discussions. No writer, so far as I know, points out the influence of slavery in bringing the economic situation to a head, but the analogy of Athens and Rome is so suggestive that I feel this must have been almost the one deciding factor. See further note 16 below.

Tyranny at Megara is associated with the name of Theagenes alone;¹ and although of short duration, is better known there in many respects than in any other Greek city,² largely because the character of the times is reflected so vividly in the writings of Theognis, who was born probably less than a generation after Theagenes' banishment. It is impossible to assign a definite date to its beginning, but Theagenes' rise to power must for several reasons have come in the latter part of the seventh century.³ First, we are told that he supported the attempts of his son-in-law Cylon⁴ to become

¹ Cf. Ure, *op. cit.* p. 264.

² Cf. Ure, *op. cit.* p. 268.

³ Welcker (*Proleg.* to his ed. of Theognis, p. xiii) thinks that he ruled up to Olymp. 50 (= 580 B. C.); Bury (*Hist. of Greece*, p. 154) and Wright (*l. c.* p. 61) date the tyranny at 640 B. C.; Cauer (*Parteien und Politiker*, p. 27) says 630 B. C.; Beloch (*Gr. Gesch.* I, pp. 369 f.) places Theagenes in the early sixth century. We can safely date the close of the tyranny about 630.

⁴ Thuc. I, 126; Paus. I, 28, 1; 40, 1.

tyrant at Athens, an event to be dated somewhere in the period 636-624 B. C.⁵ Theagenes, therefore, must have been tyrant before Cylon's *coup*. Secondly, this tyranny must have followed a period of aristocracy or oligarchy, for Theagenes required the aid of an oppressed populace to obtain his power.⁶ In the preceding chapter we have seen that colonization took place during the feudal age—a time when the powerful noble families were most influential; and since at such important centers as Corinth and Sicyon the period of tyranny coincided with the time of great commercial and industrial activity, it seems reasonable to assume the same general conditions for Megara.⁷ Again, Aristotle tells us⁸ that Theagenes gained his power by slaughtering the flocks of the rich as they fed along the streams. We may then probably follow Ure⁹ in part by interpreting this act as a blow aimed at the capitalists who derived their wealth primarily from the woollen trade; for even so late as the fifth century Megara derived her livelihood by manufacturing coarse, woollen garments, which were worn by slaves and the poorer classes.¹⁰ And Theognis, whose *floruit* comes not later than the middle of the sixth century, states that the poorer classes of his time regularly wore garments made of goat skins.¹¹ In the seventh century Megara's coarse woollens were probably shipped to the Pontic colonies in exchange for grain, slaves and other products of that district. Miletus also was

⁵ See the article by Wright referred to above. Busolt (*op. cit.* I, p. 670, note 10) accepts this chronology. Much later dates are quoted from various writers by Ure, *op. cit.* p. 34, note 2.

⁶ Aristotle (*Rhet.* I, 1357 b; *Pol.* V, 1305 a) states that, urged on by the poor who hated the wealthy, he obtained a body-guard and thus seized the power.

⁷ Cf. Wright *l. c.* pp. 63 f. Thucydides (I, 13) cites Corinth to illustrate the normal course of events leading to tyranny in the seventh century. Cf. Ure, *op. cit.* p. 184.

⁸ Arist. *Pol.* 1305 a.

⁹ Ure, *op. cit.* p. 267.

¹⁰ They were called *ἐξωμίδες*. See Xen. *Mem.* II, 7, 6. Cf. Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 519; *Peace*, 1002; Dunham, *op. cit.* p. 68.

¹¹ Theognis, 55 f.

very likely a good customer at this time for these woollens.¹² In this same connection it should be recalled that the cult of Demeter Malophorus existed in early times, and that Megarian goats seem always to have been famous.¹³

If this interpretation is correct, Theagenes suddenly secured a monopoly of the Megarian woollen industry and temporarily overthrew the power of the old Dorian aristocracy, whose wealth had originally consisted chiefly of land. But as the soil of Megaris was too limited and too rocky and barren for any extensive production of grain, the rearing of sheep and goats probably had now become the chief industry; hence the importance of Theagenes' act.

This accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few resulted no doubt very largely from the exploitation of slave labor by the capitalist soon after the Pontic district had been penetrated by Megarian colonists. Extensive early colonization had made Megara relatively wealthy.¹⁴ But a single slave could herd many sheep or goats; and as the rich trading class possessed the capital, they were aided by this combination of circumstances to corner the woollen industry. The situation of Megara at this time was probably somewhat analogous to that of Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries,¹⁵ and of Rome after the Second Punic War.¹⁶ There

¹² Dunham, *l. c.*

¹³ See Ch. II, s. v. *Demeter*.

¹⁴ See above, Ch. V, pp. 115 ff.

¹⁵ See Grundy, *Thucydides*, pp. 125 ff.

¹⁶ For conditions at Rome, see Frank, *An Economic History of Rome*, pp. 51 ff. The Dorian nobles especially were no doubt interested in restoring the exhausted soil by pasturing it, but extensive operations of this sort require capital.

The first specific mention of slaves at Megara seems to be in Xenophon, *Mem.* II, 7, 6 (οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ ἀνούμενοι βαρβάρους ἀνθρώπους ἔχουσιν), which carries the institution back as far as the fifth century at least, and by logical inference, much further. When Heraclea was founded in 559 B. C., the native Mariandyni were immediately enslaved; and Byzantium, founded in the seventh century, was in the heart of the slave-producing district. As Zimmern (*op. cit.* p. 111, note) observes, it is impossible to test Bury's state-

is also little doubt that Megara was now beginning to experience the same general economic troubles that led Solon and Pisistratus to introduce their reforms.¹⁷ For the small proprietor could not long compete with the wealthy Dorian landholder, who would soon claim both property and owner because of debt.

Two other explanations of Theagenes' rise to power have been offered. Vogt suggested¹⁸ that he may have been the leader in defending Salamis against Athens. Since this island was now in Megara's possession and important commercially, the people would willingly render assistance against the nobility and take Theagenes for their leader. But this view implies that Theagenes was a *strategos*—for which there is no evidence; and in addition, Theagenes would then be the champion of the trading party of the coast, contrary to Aristotle's identification of his affiliation.¹⁹ On the other hand, Hudson-Williams has argued²⁰ that Theagenes was

ment (*History of Greece*, pp. 156 f.) that the movements leading to the rise of tyranny in such states as Sicyon, Corinth and Megara were partly "movements of the pre-Dorian population against the dominant Dorian families." Nevertheless, the description of Theognis in *Elts.* 53-60 does sound very much like a description of such a non-Dorian people. Cf. the illustrative passages cited by Hudson-Williams *ad loc.* The Greek theory regarding enslavement of the native population where a new city had been founded is given by Aristotle, *Pol.* VII, 1329 a 26; 1330 a 26 ff.

The actual effect of coinage at this time is uncertain. The references to money in Theognis (77 f.; 117-23; 449-52; 686; 1163-5: usually *gold*) are generally found in comparisons and do not necessarily imply the presence of abundant coinage in the city; and wealth, to which the poet frequently refers, is not necessarily money. Cf. Ch. V, n. 92 above.

¹⁷ This is especially clear from the course of events described in Chapter V.

¹⁸ Vogt, *De rebus Megarensium*, pp. 71 ff. So also Beloch (*Gr. Gesch.* I, pp. 369 f.), who thus brings Theagenes down into the sixth century. Cf. Trever, *l. c.* p. 126, note 1. But the contest for Salamis was probably long continued. See the next chapter of this study.

¹⁹ See note 6 above.

²⁰ See *J. H. S.* XXIII, 1903, p. 9.

acting simply as the protector of the peasants against the oppression of the rich. He takes the statement of Aristotle²¹ to mean that the flocks of the rich, feeding in the fertile districts, had crowded the flocks of the peasants back to the barren and unproductive hillsides. He believes that Theagenes was interested in keeping the peasants in the country and away from the city, as was Pisistratus.²² This would make him the champion of the men of the hills, who represented the democrats.²³

We have no more definite information concerning the method by which Theagenes rose to power. It has been claimed²⁴ that he was assisted by Cypselus of Corinth, but for this theory there is no good evidence. Of course it is quite possible that the natural sympathy existing between tyrants, actual and potential, had its influence here and that Theagenes was in some way aided by a tyrant, just as a little later he himself gave encouragement and help to Cylon at Athens. But of this we cannot be sure, and the economic explanation does not require it. For the early tyrants did not always gain their power in the same way.²⁵ Like the demagogues of a later period,²⁶ Theagenes may have seen in the unrest of the times an opportunity to arouse the people with promises to champion their cause, made either in public assemblies or by private intrigue. Then at the time agreed upon, they rose up and slew the flocks of the wealthy, whereupon Theagenes attained his power.

²¹ Arist. *Pol.* 1305 a.

²² On Pisistratus cf. Grundy, *op. cit.* p. 119.

²³ Hdt. I, 59; Grundy, *op. cit.* p. 116.

²⁴ See Bury, *op. cit.* p. 164; Trever, *l. c.* Bury cites the amended passage of Theognis referred to in Chapter V, note 39 above. Trever does not give the evidence, but it is probably this same passage. Cf. his article, p. 120, note 2. There was sympathy between the tyrants of Corinth and Sicyon (Hdt. VI, 128).

²⁵ Aristotle (*Pol.* V, 1305 a; *Rhet.* I, 1357 b) states that Theagenes acquired his power by the same method as did Pisistratus and Dionysius. Cf. Ure, *op. cit. passim.*

²⁶ Cf. below Chapter VIII.



PLATE V.—RUINS OF THE FOUNTAIN-HOUSE OF THEAGENES.

Theagenes may have been a noble, as the marriage of his daughter to Cylon suggests,²⁷ although it is equally possible that he was a wealthy and influential tradesman.²⁸ Like Pisistratus, he may have changed his party affiliation.²⁹ While he became thoroughly hated by the nobles,³⁰ he does not seem to have subjected them to the populace.³¹

During his tyranny Theagenes carried out public building operations and public improvements after the manner of a typical tyrant, and his water-conduit and fountain-house are famous.³² But such operations are costly, and it is natural to believe that Theagenes confiscated much of the nobles' wealth to defray the expense. The operations themselves may have been undertaken, at least in part, for the practical purpose of providing employment for the people, as was done by Pericles when he beautified Athens.³³ In his later tyranny Pisistratus thus confiscated the property of the aristocrats while he was constructing the Olympieum and Enneacrunus.³⁴

²⁷ On the basis of Thucydides' statement (I, 126, 3) that Cylon belonged to an old family and was influential.

²⁸ Both Theognis (749-51; 823-4) and Solon (Frag. 2 (13), 5-7; 7 (17), 3-4) feared that some wealthy tradesman would make himself tyrant. Cf. Ure, *op. cit.* pp. 8 f.

²⁹ Pisistratus was first identified with the Paralii, later with the Diacrii. See Seltman, *op. cit.* p. 30.

³⁰ See Theognis, 823 f.; 1203 ff.

³¹ See Theognis, 675 ff.; Vogt, *op. cit.* p. 80.

³² See above, Chapter I, pp. 9, 12; Paus. I, 40, 1, 41, 2; Delbrück and Vollmöller, *Ath. Mitt.* XXV, 1905, pp. 23-33; Elderkin, *A. J. A.* XIV, 1910, pp. 19-50; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, VIII, pp. 37-40. But it is hardly likely that he built the Treasury at Olympia, as has sometimes been claimed for him. See above, Chapter V, n. 4, and cf. Gardiner, *Gk. Athl. Sp. and Fest.* p. 60, who, however, dates the erection of this Treasury after Theagenes' fall.

³³ See Plutarch, *Per.* 12, where the allies, whose contributions to the Athenian treasury were used for the purpose, complain that Pericles was playing the part of a tyrant. He manifested the characteristics of a tyrant (*tyrannos*) and was warlike. Cf. Thuc. II, 65, 9; Aristotle, *Pol.* V, 1313 b, who describes what constitutes *tyrannikón*.

³⁴ On the Olympieum see Fraser, *The Art Bulletin*, IV, No. 1,

Theagenes' building operations, while very limited in number, were influential. The water-conduit was probably the prototype of that built by Pisistratus and of a similar work by Polycrates in Samos. The fountain-house had some influence on the fountain-house of Glaucus at Corinth.³⁵ What he would have done for coinage, had he continued longer in power, we can only conjecture. His public acts were all of a peaceful nature, so far as we know them, and he stands out prominently as the type of peaceful tyrant. Very probably Pisistratus learned more than one lesson from his career.

Theagenes ruled for only a few years.³⁶ Had he continued in power longer, he would probably have gone further in improving and beautifying the city. But he too was banished and spent the rest of his life in exile.³⁷ The immediate circumstances of his banishment are uncertain, but from the statements of Aristotle³⁸ and Plutarch³⁹ that democracy was destroyed and aristocracy restored, we may conclude that his fall was brought about by the nobles who had suffered at his hands. We do not know at what time during his tyranny he gave assistance to Cylon, but this probably occurred shortly before his banishment and led directly to it. The nobles at Megara would gladly join the nobles of Athens in a conspiracy to eliminate the hated ruler, for each party had a similar grievance. Thus Cylon's *coup* brought matters to a head, and in addition, perhaps, renewed the contest for Salamis.⁴⁰

Sept. 1921, pp. 5, ff.; on the Enneacrunus, Weller, *Athens and Its Monuments*, pp. 108-10. Pisistratus probably built a temple to Athena Parthenos also: Seltman, *op. cit.* p. 61, note 2.

³⁵ See Gräber, *Ath. Mitt.* XXX, 1905, p. 59, and Elderkin, *l. c.* p. 49.

³⁶ Hudson-Williams (*J. H. S.* XXIII, p. 4; *The Elegies of Theognis*, p. 6) limits it to five or six years; Trever, *l. c.* p. 126, says ten years.

³⁷ Plutarch, *Qu. Gr.* 18.

³⁸ Aristotle, *Pol.* V, 1302 b; 1304 b.

³⁹ Plutarch, *l. c.* Theagenes' name is absent from the list of tyrants said by Plutarch (*De Malig. Her.* 21) to have been deposed by Sparta.

⁴⁰ So Wright, *l. c.* p. 73.

CHAPTER VII

THE CONTEST FOR SALAMIS

The most important special treatises are by Töpffer, *Quaestiones Pisistrateae*, Dorpat, 1886, reprinted in his *Beiträge zur griech. Altertumswissenschaft*, Berlin, 1897; and Linforth, *Solon the Athenian*, Berkeley, 1919. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* II, pp. 213 ff., gives a thorough treatment. E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alt.* II, pp. 436, 630-633, 637 f., 645-647, 664-667, is perhaps the most suggestive. Cf. also Weber, *Klio*, XX, pp. 385 ff. Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, I, pp. 267-272, is based upon an hypothetical *Atthis*. Vogt's account, *op. cit.* pp. 71 ff., is still valuable. Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage Before the Persian Invasion*, Cambridge, 1924, discusses the question *passim* but rather briefly. Trever, *Cl. Phil.* XX, 1925, pp. 122 ff., reviews some points in the later history of the island without reference, however, to Linforth's important treatise. The same criticism may be brought against Seltman, who too readily accepts Wilamowitz's theories. C. Horner, *Quaestiones Salaminiae*, Diss. Basle, 1901, pp. 4-19, reviews very briefly the opinions held by Busolt, E. Meyer, and Wilamowitz, and concludes that the Athenians had full possession of the island about 570-60 B. C. Allen's interpretation of the traditions, *The Hom. Cat. of Ships*, pp. 56-8, is unsympathetic.

The island of Salamis lay in the Saronic Gulf about equidistant from the coasts of Megaris and Attica. It therefore commanded the bay of Eleusis and was close to Megara's chief harbor-town, Nisaea. With Salamis in her possession Megara became the natural port for south Boeotia, Eleusis and west Attica.¹ Such an island would clearly be a great boon to the city that could control it, but a grave menace to that city's commercial rival during this period of rapid expansion and growth. It is therefore likely that the later phases of the contest for Salamis between Megara and Athens originated during the period of the former city's colonial expansion; and in view of the fact that Megara was the first Greek city of the mainland to plant colonies in the east, it seems very probable that as early as the eighth century at least Megara, and not Athens, controlled the island.

¹ E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alt.* II, p. 436.

The history of Salamis up to that time is a matter of conjecture. In early times, while Megaris and Attica were one territory, the island was independent, according to Strabo.² This view is probably correct. The archaeological finds show that it was a Mycenaean site,³ and along with Locris it has been called a center of "Lelegian" influence.⁴ Its situation during the Heroic Age is also disputed. Some have claimed that it was subject to Athens, since during the Trojan War Ajax and his contingent are regularly represented by Homer as accompanying the Athenian forces. Others,⁵ who regard

² Strabo, IX, 395. Busolt, *op. cit.* II, p. 215, note 1, following Töpffer, *Att. Genealogie*, p. 273, identifies Megarian Sciron with Salaminian Sciros. Töpffer also thinks that Sciron is not older than the occupation of Salamis by Megara.

³ There are L. M. III and Dipylon vases showing affinities with Thessaly (Wace and Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly*, pp. 216, 222); remains of Cyclopean Walls (Fimmen, *Die Kret.-Myken. Kultur*, p. 9); late Mycenaean tombs (Wide, *Ath. Mitt.* XXXV, 1910, pp. 17 ff.). These tombs, more than 100 in number and arranged in seven parallel lines, were found near the arsenal. The finds show they belong to the period between Mycenaean and Homeric times. This cemetery belonged to a very poor people. The vases for the most part were made of inferior clay, and the decoration was plain and simple. They show some affinities with similar vases from Athens and Nauplia, particularly with two vases from a grave near the Athenian acropolis.

⁴ Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 228, after Fick.

⁵ For example, Busolt, *op. cit.* II, p. 214; Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters.* pp. 242 ff.; Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, p. 193; Töpffer, *Att. Gen.* pp. 270 f. Wilamowitz has taken the lead in this question and is followed by the higher critics. He accepts the arguments of Dieuchidas of Megara that the verse was interpolated by the Athenians. Accordingly, he must also delete *Iliad*, VII, 199, and by this process he renders Ajax "heimatloss." Now *Iliad* II, 558 was absent from some of the MSS. Aristotle (*Rhet.* I, 15, 1375 b) refers to it as being "in Homer" (ὅσον Ἀθηναῖοι Ὀμήρῳ μάρτυρι ἐχρήσαντο περὶ Σαλαμῖνος) and Quintilian (V, 11, 40) states that it was absent from some editions known to him. The Alexandrian critics rejected the verse because of the fact that since Ajax was on the extreme left he would have as his neighbors not the Athenians, who were next to Odysseus (*Il.* IV, 329), but the Thessalians (*Il.* XIII

the Catalogue of ships a late product, think that the pivotal verse in the second book of the *Iliad* is an interpolation due to Athenian influence, and that Athens' claimed possession of Salamis in the Heroic Age is a myth, which originated in much later times. These views we shall now examine in detail, starting with several old traditions which apparently have not been considered in this connection at all.

The first tradition is found in Homer, and it is entirely consistent throughout. Ajax is twice associated with Salamis in the vulgate text;⁶ and in the numerous other passages where he is mentioned,⁷ he is represented as the Ares of the

681). See Strabo, IX, 394. Jebb, Int. to Sophocles' *Ajax*, p. ix, note 2, thinks that both verses may be interpolations; but that if 557 is genuine, some verses may have dropped out immediately after 558 since Ajax, being so important throughout the *Iliad*, could not be dismissed so summarily. Cf. Leaf, *ad loc.*; Bolling, *A. J. P.* XXXVII, 1916, p. 29, and *The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer*, 1925, pp. 72 f., who thinks that Ajax is made in *Iliad* II, 546-57 "but a tail to the Athenian kite"; and Bethe, *Homer* II, 1922, p. 346, who says: "Wie der alte 'echte' Katalog Athen sicherlich überhaupt nicht erwähnt hat, da es keine Helden in Troia hatte, so konnte er auch Aias nicht gut haben. Denn in der Ilias hat Aias niemals weder Vaterland noch Schiffe."

In place of 557-558 the Megarians substituted:

Αἶας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν νέας ἕκ τε Πολύχνης
ἕκ τ' Αἰγυροῦσσης Νισαῖης τε Τριπόδων τε.

See Strabo, IX, 394, and on the subject of the text here Allen, *Homer, The Origins and the Transmission*, pp. 234 ff.; Leaf, *The Iliad*, I, p. 92. What we actually need here, as Jebb observes, is *not less but more* about Ajax.

⁶ *Iliad*, II, 557; VII, 198-199. The fact that Ajax is represented in the *Iliad* without chariot and as moving always on foot increases the probability that he is to be connected with some island such as Salamis. See Scott, *The Unity of Homer*, p. 51. But Bethe (See note 5) will allow Ajax neither home nor ships, although *Iliad*, VIII, 224-6 states that Ajax and Achilles had drawn up their ships at the ends because they trusted in their own valor and strength.

⁷ These passages have been collected and studied exhaustively by D. Bassi, *Rivista di filologia*, XVIII, 1899, pp. 289-364. A briefer study is made by Jebb, Int. to his *Ajax* of Sophocles, 1896. Less satisfactory is the article by P. Girard in *Rev. des Études Grecques*,

Greek forces, of great size and strength, impetuous, boastful of his warlike deeds, one who gains new strength from despair, loves glory in war. He is second only to Achilles in combat and is a rival of Odysseus. Milton, therefore, appropriately took him as his prototype for Moloch, the mighty fighter among the fallen angels.⁸ In Hesiod⁹ Ajax figures as a powerful ruler of Salamis who boasts that he will plunder the cattle and sheep of Troezen, Epidaurus, Aegina, Mases, Megara, Corinth, Hermione, Asine,—all of them places within the district of the Saronic and Argolic gulfs,—in order to get gifts with which to win the Argive Helen. It will be observed that Athens is here conspicuously absent. Fortunately, too, Herodotus has preserved for us an old tradition¹⁰ which sheds much light upon the subject. In describing the organization of the tribes of Attica, he states that local heroes were chosen as eponymous heads except in the case of Ajax, who was a

XVIII, 1905, pp. 1-75, who sees in the name Τελαμώνιος Αἴας a religious title meaning "the Lord of the sacred Pillar," of religious origin and associated originally with Mycenaean tree and pillar cult. See also the discussion in Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homer-kritik*³, pp. 262 ff.

⁸ Milton, *P. L.* II, 51-105.

⁹ Hesiod, *Catalogus*, frag. 96, 4-11. Ajax thus seems to be a semi-pirate engaged in the practice of cattle-raiding. On this subject see Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, pp. 72 ff., who, however, makes no reference to Ajax. A barren island like Salamis would easily lead such a chieftain to acts of piracy from time to time. It has been suggested (see Ormerod, *op. cit.* p. 98 and references) that the ancient league of Calauria was organized to police the Saronic Gulf against pirates. But Harland (*A. J. A.* XXIX, 1925, pp. 160 ff.), who has given the latest discussion of the origin and character of the League, does not accept this view.

¹⁰ Hdt. V, 66: τοῦτον δέ, ἅτε ἀστυγέιτονα καὶ σύμμαχον, ξείνον ἔδοντα, προσέθετο. Cf. VIII, 64: τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμάχους. See also E. Meyer, *op. cit.* II, p. 646. The association of Ajax with the local legendary heroes of Athens would of course imply that this *συμμαχία* was considered to be ancient. Cf. Paus. I, 5; [Dem.] LX, 27-31. This took place in the archonship of Isagoras (508/7) according to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* XXI).

neighbor and ally, but a foreigner. And finally Pindar¹¹ celebrates the friendship between Ajax and Timodemus, family ancestor of the Timodemidae in Attica (Acharnae).

All of these traditions are seen at once to be harmonious and they are all early. May not the grouping of Ajax and the Athenians in the *Iliad*, therefore, signify that Athens and Salamis for some special reason went to the Trojan War as allies in the same way as did Onchestus in Boeotia and Nisa?¹² It has been pointed out by Scott¹³ that on many occasions Ajax rescued the Athenians and was in turn helped by them. Such conduct one would expect in allies but hardly in those related as conqueror and subject. The descriptive terms of Herodotus (ἀστυγείτων and σύμμαχος) seem entirely appropriate to represent what took place in the *Iliad*. As the Catalogue very clearly shows, the expedition against Troy was not only a united movement on the part of the Achaean city-states, but that within this larger grouping there were smaller groupings of individual cities. Under such a powerful ruler as Ajax is represented to be, Salamis must have been free and independent. She probably maintained her independence for a considerable period thereafter. Furthermore, Athens seems to have kept very much within her own territory until about Solon's time and probably did not expand seaward much before 600 B. C.¹⁴ But long before this Megara

¹¹ Pindar, *Nem.* II, 13-25.

¹² See above, Chapter III and App.

¹³ Scott, *The Unity of Homer*, pp. 48 ff.

¹⁴ Seltman (*op. cit.* pp. 9 ff.) believes that up to Solon's time Athens' chief export was olive oil, which was sent abroad in the amphorae that are represented on her early coins. Much of this oil, he thinks, went to Egypt. But Aegina had always been hostile to Athens (cf. Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny*, Ch. VI); hence with this island as well as Megarian Salamis serving as threats on its western coast, Athens may have used not Phalerum but Prasiae on the eastern coast for its harbor-town. The Athenian fleet according to Plutarch (*Solon*, 9) was at this time practically negligible, consisting of only a few fishing boats and one triacontor. Athens was trading principally with Ceos and Egypt.

had become an important commercial center, hence her interest in the possession of Salamis would be paramount.

Some time after the close of the Trojan War, we may well believe, Megara gained control of the island either because Athens had withdrawn from maritime activity or because the Megarian fleet was too powerful for her.¹⁵ There seems to have been a long and exhausting war between the two city-states¹⁶ lasting for the greater part of a century very probably, or even longer than that. Finally Athens was defeated and for a time gave up the contest. Thereupon a law was passed forbidding anyone to mention Salamis on pain of death.¹⁷ Even before Solon's time Athens and Megara had struggled over the boundary lines of Eleusis.¹⁸ Megara, therefore, readily grasped the importance of such an outpost as Salamis. Its loss would have meant that her chief port was blocked, a thing which actually happened during the Peloponnesian War after Athens had gained control of the island Minoa.¹⁹

But Wright²⁰ is no doubt partly correct in insisting that during the earlier phases of the contest commercial rivalry between the two city-states was not the paramount issue, for Athens was not yet a great commercial factor. Sentiment may have played some part²¹ if we are correct in the belief that since the Heroic Age Athens and Salamis had been allies. Then, too, the attempt of Cylon abetted by Theagenes would rankle in the breasts of the Athenians. Later on

¹⁵ Vogt, *op. cit.* p. 71, thinks that Salamis became a bone of contention between Athens and Megara after the latter had freed herself from Corinth.

¹⁶ Justinus, II, 7, based on Ephorus; Plutarch, *Solon* 8, 9.

¹⁷ Plutarch, *Solon*, 8; Diog. Laert. I, 46, 48; Polyænus, *Strat.* I, 20; Justinus, II, 7.

¹⁸ Hdt. I, 30.

¹⁹ See below, Ch. XIII, pp. 176 ff.

²⁰ See *Harvard Studies*, III, 1882, pp. 64 f. See, however, note 15 above. Athens' trade was no doubt continually growing.

²¹ Cf. the opening lines of Solon's poem "Salamis," especially the expression *μερτῆς Σαλαμῖνος* (Plut. *Solon*, 8).

economic pressure may have begun to assert itself about the time of Solon, as Linforth thinks.²² Solon, therefore, seized the opportunity to turn the minds of his restless fellow citizens to a foreign campaign and in this way relieve the local economic pressure. But in any case Salamis was valuable primarily because of its strategic location from a commercial and military point of view and not because of any intrinsic worth in itself, for it was too barren and rugged to be worth much.²³

Thus the struggle continued for a long time until Athens finally took the island.²⁴ At this point of the story our traditions are hopelessly confused, but there is good reason to believe that in some way Solon was the leader in the move to regain the island. The ancient sources very generally agree on this point,²⁵ although Pisistratus is mentioned three

²² Linforth, *op. cit.* pp. 43 f.

²³ On the northwest it is a continuation of the range Gerania; on the southwest the formation is similar to that of the opposite Attic coast. Geologically it is a part of the mainland opposite it. The country was naturally suited to the olive and grape. Its cheese seems to have been famous (Strabo, IX, 395), as probably its honey (Eurip. *Troad.* 799). See Büchner in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Its area is 93.5 qkm. (Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung*, p. 32). We have noted the poverty of the people as indicated by the graves. See note 3 above. Ajax took twelve ships to Troy.

²⁴ The following provisional chronology is followed in the present chapter:

Salamis taken by Athens at the instigation of Solon	c. 600 B. C.
Solon archon	594-90
Pisistratus takes Nisaea	c. 570
Solon dies	c. 560
Pisistratus becomes tyrant	c. 561 or 560
Pisistratus dies	527

²⁵ See the discussion by Linforth, *op. cit.* pp. 249 ff. The most important ancient sources are Demosthenes LXI, 49 (Solon took Salamis); Herodotus I, 59; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* XVII; Plutarch, *Solon*, 8-12 (two different accounts). Late writers, such as Poly-aenus and Aelian, either follow the same source as Plutarch or draw upon the latter. Cf. Töpffer, *Quaest. Pisist.* p. 6.

times in this connection.²⁶ There is also the statement that Salamis was betrayed to the Athenians,²⁷ a tradition which we need not wholly reject as being merely an attempt to better Megara's case.²⁸

The time of Solon's *coup* may perhaps be most reasonably dated before his archonship, that is, before 594-90 B. C. But the Megarians, we may be sure, kept up a continual effort to regain the island.²⁹ Whether they were ever successful we do not know, but we are told by Herodotus³⁰ that Pisistratus captured Nisaea. Plutarch implies³¹ that both Salamis and Nisaea had been lost and recaptured more than once, hence the exploit mentioned by Herodotus may refer to a second capture of Nisaea on the part of Athens. In any case this event occurred before Pisistratus' tyranny. How the Megarians were able to retake Salamis we do not know, but

²⁶ Plutarch, *Solon*, 8; Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* XVII, who rejects a belief on the part of "some that believe that Pisistratus was in command" (i. e., was *στρατηγός*); Daïmachus of Plataea (Plutarch, *Comp. of Solon and Publicola*, 4). Seltman, *op. cit.* pp. 30 ff., follows Wilamowitz, *Arist. u. Athen.*, I, pp. 267 f., in claiming that Pisistratus captured both Salamis and Nisaea in 570. His explanation of the different conflicting accounts is that later generations, idealizing the name of Solon but loathing that of Pisistratus, accredited the former with the exploit. But see below, note 34.

²⁷ Plutarch, *Solon*, 8; Paus. I, 40, 5.

²⁸ Betrayal of an ancient city at the hands of some disgruntled element was so common that the story as such is entirely plausible. To quote only a few instances: The generals betrayed Megara to Athens in 423 B. C. (Thuc. IV, 66 f.); Eretria was betrayed by some leading townsmen to the Persians (Hdt. VI, 101); Some Athenian oligarchs plotted to betray the Athenians to the Persians (Plutarch, *Arist.* 13).

²⁹ See Plutarch, *Solon*, 10.

³⁰ Hdt. I, 59. He does not mention either Solon or Salamis but speaks simply of a campaign against the Megarians led by Pisistratus.

³¹ Plutarch, *Solon*, 12. Pausanias was shown at Megara the bronze beak of a trireme that was taken sometime during the war (Paus. I, 40, 4-5). See above, Ch. I, page 10.

Strabo ³² and Plutarch ³³ have preserved the record of a debate between the Megarians and the Athenians in which the latter, with Solon as their spokesman, are said to have laid claim to the island on the following grounds: that the two sons of Ajax had been enrolled as Athenian citizens and had deeded the island to Athens; that the graves on the island revealed the Athenian method of burial; that certain Delphic oracles had called Salamis "Ionian"; that *Iliad* II, 558 proved their right through Ajax. The Megarians replied that this line of the Catalogue had been interpolated in the *Iliad* ³⁴

³² Strabo, IX, 394: Solon or Pisistratus.

³³ Plutarch, *Solon*, 10: Solon. So Diog. Laert. *Solon*, 48, on the authority of Dieuchidas of Megara. Cf. Arist. *Rhet.* I, 15.

³⁴ The origin of this "Pisistratus Myth," as it has been called, is not clear. Allen, *Cl. Quart.* VII, 1913, pp. 33 ff., thinks that it originated in the fourth century B. C. as the result of a tradition that had gathered about the person of Pisistratus, in which he is represented as a literary figure and oracle. Hence, Hereas and Dieuchidas of Megara, who clearly belong to the fourth century, in order that Megara's case in the loss of Salamis might be bettered, accused Pisistratus of interpolating *Iliad*, II, 558 in the interest of Athens. With this view Scott, *The Unity of Homer*, pp. 55 ff., is in substantial agreement, although he thinks that the idea of a Pisistratean version of Homer may have arisen from the regulation imposed at the recitation of passages from Homer at the Panathenaea. The author of this regulation is called Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, in [Plato] *Hipp.* 228 B. See *Cl. Phil.* IX, 1914, pp. 395 ff.

Into this connection it seems worth while to bring the story that Pisistratus, and not Solon, captured Salamis. The story occurs first in Aeneas Tacticus of Stymphalus, likewise a writer of the fourth century B. C., and the Athenians are there represented as resorting to trickery. This may, therefore, be only another aspect of the "Pisistratus myth." For with one exception (Polyaenus) it regularly appears in the later writers on Strategy and is a story that could be told of any general. (Cf. Linforth, *op. cit.* p. 251.) But Pisistratus' generalship itself is of course not a myth, since Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* XIV) following Herodotus (I, 59) states that Pisistratus won a reputation for himself in the war against Megara by taking Nisaea and performing other great exploits. But Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* XVII), denies, on the basis of age alone, that he could have been

and that the graves were Megarian, not Athenian. But the Lacedaemonian arbiters, who had been chosen to hear the case, granted the island to Athens.³⁵ This greatly increased the reputation of Solon. As a compromise measure, Nisaea was given back to Megara.

Athens now organized the island, as we learn from an old inscription,³⁶ which refers to some arrangement granting residence there to a part of the original inhabitants or, as some hold, permitting the establishment of a cleruchy. The precise interpretation is not certain as the stele is preserved only in fragments. It seems better, however, to take it as referring to a grant to the original inhabitants.

Athens was now free to penetrate the Pontic region for grain, and we find her first occupying Sigeum as an outpost.³⁷ The Thracian Chersonese was also seized about the same time.³⁸ The acquisition of Salamis brought great joy to the Athenians, who instituted a yearly ceremony in the form of a *dromenon*, in which they re-acted the capture of the island.³⁹ And Petersen has interpreted a scene on a cylix by the potter

στρατηγός during the contest for Salamis. Pisistratus was about thirty years younger than Solon.

³⁵ Linforth (*op. cit.* p. 257) agrees with Beloch (*Gr. Gesch.* I³, pp. 312 f.) that this appeal to Spartan arbitration is impossible on the ground that such arbitration could not have taken place before the end of the sixth century. But Sparta was a growing, influential state at this time (See below, Ch. IX), and such appeals to outside arbiters are often referred to much earlier than this. See E. Sonne, *De Arbitris Externis*, Göttingen, 1888, and especially Tod, *International Arbitration Amongst the Greeks*, Oxford, 1913, who accepts this tradition as being very probably historical. See especially pp. 96, 102, 119, 134, 150 f., 175. As a matter of fact, international arbitration was practiced long before Greek times. See Tod's account, pp. 169 ff.

³⁶ See Hicks and Hill, *Greek Hist. Insc.*² No. 4; Roberts and Gardner, *An Int. to Greek Epig.* No. 1. This is the earliest extant Athenian decree.

³⁷ Hdt. V, 94: the work of Pisistratus.

³⁸ Hdt. VII, 37: between 560 and 546, the tyranny of Pisistratus.

³⁹ Plut. *Solon*, 9.

Hieron as representing this ceremony.⁴⁰ Seltman⁴¹ is even inclined to identify the leader of the company depicted on the vase as Pisistratus himself because of the heraldic badge of the horse on his shield, but this is not at all certain.

With the loss of Salamis Megara's power inevitably began to decline. The continual fluctuation in the form of government which we have already observed could only result in her resources being greatly wasted. Indeed, the loss of Salamis may well be called the first step in her decline. But she was still powerful and was destined more than once to play a leading rôle in the following century.

⁴⁰ See *Jahrb.* XXXII, 1917, p. 137; Seltman, *op. cit.* p. 31; Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic Red-figured Vases*, pp. 46 ff.

⁴¹ Seltman, *l. c.*

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Valuable discussions of this period are given by Vogt, *op. cit.* pp. 83 ff.; Hudson-Williams, *J. H. S.* XXIII, 1903, pp. 1 ff.; Meyer, *Gesch. des Alt.* II, pp. 633-36, 665. Less satisfactory is Cauer, *Parteien und Politiker in Megara und Athen*, pp. 21 ff., who assumes that the introduction of coinage had much to do with the social upheaval. The change from barter to coinage would work such an effect (Arist. *Pol.* I, 1257 a 35 ff.; Whibley, *Greek Olig.* p. 76), but the effect would have been felt earlier. Cf. Ch. VII above. Slavery no doubt still operated against the welfare of the poor. Busolt, *Die Lakedaemonier*, I, pp. 284-91, gives a good analysis which, however, is partly vitiated by his dating Theognis too late—born 560/50 B. C. C. de Martiis, *Socialismo Antico*, Turin, 1889, pp. 497-507, gives a good discussion based principally on Theognis, but he too dates the latter between 544 and 490 B. C. Trever, *l. c.* pp. 126-131, adds little to these earlier discussions.

The immediate effect of the loss of Salamis upon Megara is perhaps best seen in the social upheaval which we shall now sketch. If the possession of the island was so important to Athens, its loss was equally disastrous to Megara. Many Megarian trading vessels bringing grain from the Pontus must have fallen into the path of Athenian pirate ships until the economic pinch became acute. The fact that Pisistratus could penetrate to Megara's front-door, as he did in his capture of Nisaea, shows how disorganized were Megarian power and leadership. This was probably the final stroke that aroused the people to action. The poor farmers and herdsmen still remembered how two generations before Theagenes had come to the rescue of their fathers and championed their cause against the nobles. And now they were calling for another tyrant.¹

After the expulsion of Theagenes Megara for a while enjoyed a moderate form of government. The nobles seem to have learned their lesson. But through the influence of dem-

¹ Theognis, 39-52.

agogues the people were fired with an ambition for liberty, the nobles were overthrown, and the commons re-established in power. It was a violent democracy characterized by utter lawlessness.² For the people were very poor³ having become subject to the wealthy through debt. They would invade the houses of the rich and demand that they be feasted. Whenever their pleas remained unheeded they turned to violence and abuse. Finally a law was enacted which required creditors to repay the interest they had exacted—an act known as *palintokia*.⁴ We are here reminded of a similar situation at Athens when Solon came to the rescue of the poorer classes. Perhaps Solon's *seisachtheia* had had its influence in the present case.

The lawlessness of this period is further shown by the treatment of some Peloponnesian pilgrims who were going by way of the Isthmus to Delphi. Certain Megarian ruffians, hot with wine, attacked the pilgrims with their wives and families, overturned their wagons, and drowned many. Since the government was helpless to act, the Delphian Amphictyony punished the offenders with banishment or death.⁵

Hudson-Williams has argued⁶ that this first permanent Megarian democracy was established at least several years

² Aristotle (see note 3) describes it as *ἀταξία* and *ἀναρχία*, and Plutarch (note 4) calls it *ἀκόλαστος*, naming as its characteristics *ἀσέλγεια*, *ὑβρις*, *ὀμύτης*, *ἀταξία*. Theognis' description throughout the elegies is similar, but his most common descriptive word for the tyrant and his counterpart, the rabble, is *ὑβρις*.

³ See Aristotle, *Pol.* 1302 b; 1304 b. Cf. 1300 a; Plutarch, *Qu. Gr.* 18. Cf. 59. The demagogues are here blamed for its return just as they are in Theognis. *Ps.-Xen. Pol. Ath.* I, 5, and Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* XXVII, show how extreme poverty leads to such acts of lawlessness. So Theognis, 383-92, describes *πενία* as *μήτηρ ἀμηχανίας*, but in the lines that follow (393-400) he combats this philosophy.

⁴ Plutarch, *Qu. Gr.* 59.

⁵ Plutarch, *l. c.*

⁶ See *J. H. S.* XXIII, 1903, pp. 5 f. I should prefer to say just after 570. See below.

before 570 B. C. For Aristotle seems to mean ⁷ that it was during this period that Megarian comedy began, since the Megarians themselves claimed that comedy originated with them "during their democracy." Now the Parian Chronicle asserts ⁸ that the Icarians instituted competitions in comedy during the period 581-62. Whether we consider Susarion, who is there called the "inventor" of comedy, as a Megarian or not makes no difference in the present argument.⁹ The important fact is that the Megarians themselves dated the beginning of their comedy during this period, and they were not contradicted by Aristotle although he does not mention Susarion or any other individual.

But there is a still more convincing argument for dating this democracy. We have already seen ¹⁰ that Heraclea Pontica was a Megarian colony established about 559 B. C. by democrats largely, who had fled from their native city. This can only mean that the nobles had arisen and overthrown the violent government at home. For Heraclea is the only Megarian colony established by democrats.¹¹

This radical democracy was established, according to Hudson-Williams, by a coalition of the urban commercial party and the oppressed peasants for the purpose of gaining

⁷ Aristotle, *Poet.* 1448 a, 30 ff.: ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς δημοκρατίας γενομένης.

⁸ See Jacoby, *Das Marmor Parium*, p. 13. This chronicle belongs to the third century B. C. and may have been influenced by Aristotle.

⁹ Flickinger, *The Greek Theatre and Its Drama*, pp. 47 f., while admitting that Megara influenced Attic comedy, rejects the idea that this city "invented" it. He thinks that comic actors were introduced at Athens not long before 450 B. C., since the exchange of ideas between Megara and Athens would most naturally come in the period 460/59-446/5, when the latter controlled Megara. Cf. Cornford, *The Origin of Attic Comedy*, pp. 179 f., 192 f. Both writers date the beginning of this democracy about 600 B. C., which is about 30 years earlier than I am inclined to place it.

¹⁰ See above Ch. V, pp. 113 f. and notes.

¹¹ The second democratic colony was sent out by Heraclea herself. The importance of Heraclea in this connection is pointed out by E. Meyer, *op. cit.* II, p. 665.

some share in the government from the exclusive nobles. Thus a revolution resulted, and democracy came in. But there soon came about a re-alignment of parties. The peasants attacked the richer citizens and by legislation deprived them of much of their property. Many of the nobles were driven into exile.¹² Such a policy naturally united the nobles and the richer citizens of the middle class. Inter-marriage between these two classes now became common, and the aristocracy of birth began to disappear, while a new aristocracy of wealth arose.

It is of this situation that Theognis so bitterly complains. No other period suits the tone of his distichs. Theognis was likewise a noble of the strictest sect, who had lost his property and had been driven into exile. He must have been born not later than 600 B. C., perhaps several years earlier.¹³ As he counsils his protégé Cyrnus, he paints for us a vivid picture of the effect wrought upon the noble who beheld the rabble gloating in power. The rabble wants a tyrant, he tells us;¹⁴ and he looks to the gods to protect Megara against this rabble, which worships only wealth.¹⁵ The "noble" and "good" have been degraded, and now the "base" and "mean" occupy the seats of the mighty.¹⁶ Those who formerly knew neither justice nor law but wore goat-skins on their backs and cowered before their masters like deer have taken possession of the city.¹⁷ Even the gods have fled and only Hope remains.¹⁸ The ship of state, with the rabble at the helm instead of an experienced pilot, seems about to be overwhelmed by the waves or to run aground.¹⁹ Only a remnant remains that has not turned its hands to base gain.²⁰ Worst of all,

¹² Aristotle, *Pol.* V, 1304 b.

¹³ Some of the arguments are given by Hudson-Williams, *J. H. S.* XXIII, pp. 6 f., and in his edition of Theognis, pp. 6 ff.

¹⁴ *El.* 847-50.

¹⁵ *El.* 699-718. Cf. 823 f., 947 f.

¹⁶ *El.* 57-60.

¹⁹ *El.* 670-82.

¹⁷ *El.* 53-60.

²⁰ *El.* 83-86.

¹⁸ *El.* 1135 ff.

he had been betrayed by his friends and deserted by them in time of need.²¹ The times were indeed evil! Nevertheless, we need to remind ourselves that the picture as presented by Theognis may be somewhat overdrawn. He was an aristocrat who saw little good in the commons or in the cause they represented. And as a satirist he was perhaps too prone to lament the degeneracy of his times. Theognis' estate had been taken from him,²² and in poverty he travelled to Sparta, Sicily, and Euboea. But in spite of the cordial welcome extended to him there, he still longed, as did Odysseus, for his native land.²³

The cause of his exile is not far to seek. In spite of the subjective character of his elegies, we can readily imagine him the uncompromising and unrestrained critic of the demagogues. His verses contain all the fire of an Aristophanes or of the younger Horace. He was essentially a satirist.

This radical democracy did not last for a long period. If we may judge by the time when Heraclea Pontica was colonized, it is fairly certain that it came to an end about 560 B. C. It had probably lasted not more than ten years—that is, from 570 to 560. There seems to have been much strife and bloodshed between the rival factions until at length the nobles won. Those who had been exiled returned. Oligarchy was now in power. And in the government that was now organized those had a share who had either been exiled or had opposed the people.²⁴ Theognis was among those who were restored.²⁵

The new government seems to have been moderate. This

²¹ *El.* 575; 811-14; 851 f.; 825-36; 857-60.

²² *El.* 1197-1202, 825-30. From his description in 825-30, it seems that he owned land in the rich Megarian plain, since his farm could be seen from the market-place. In this connection it is worth recalling that the flocks of the rich, which were slain by Theagenes, were feeding in the fertile river valleys. See above, Ch. VI.

²³ *El.* 783-88.

²⁴ Aristotle, *Pol.* 1304 b.; 1300 a.

²⁵ Busolt, *op. cit.* p. 290, note 38, thinks that Theognis took part in storming the city as the exiles returned (*El.* 951). But see Hudson-Williams on this line.

is suggested first of all by Theognis' complaint that pure aristocratic blood was disappearing,²⁶ and by the fact that we do not hear again of a similar political and economic upheaval. The intermarriage between noble and those of lower rank did much to even the social status of the great majority. There were still to be times of unrest, but the gulf between the different classes was ever lessening.

Theognis' description of his times shows that he drew heavily upon the writings of Solon, which he frequently quotes with more or less adaptation. And why should he not? The conditions under which both lived were similar enough to give Theognis, as well as Solon, much the same point of view. Of course there were differences. Solon, though belonging to a noble family, was not the strict aristocrat that Theognis represents; and he had not suffered personally from the evils of the times as had Theognis. But the points of resemblance, social and economic, between Athens of 630-570 B. C. and Megara of 650-560 B. C. are very striking. The main difference is the degree of aristocracy found in each city. This probably explains the fact that tyranny lasted for generations in Athens but for only a few years in Megara. For wherever aristocracy was very powerful tyranny was either entirely absent or of short duration.

²⁶ *El.* 183-92.

CHAPTER IX

A MEMBER OF SPARTA'S CONFEDERACY

The most detailed reference to the Confederacy is in Kahrstedt, *Griechisches Staatsrecht*, Bd. I, Gottingen, 1922. See also Meyer, *op. cit.* II, pp. 765 f. Grundy, *Thucydides*, pp. 212-239, and Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism*, pp. 88-97, have very clear accounts of the origin and organization of the Confederacy. Whibley, *Greek Oligarchies*, *passim*, has valuable statements. See also Wade-Gery, *Camb. Anc. History*, III, 1925, pp. 565 ff., and Adcock, *ibid.* IV, 1926, pp. 71 ff.

As the result of a series of wars extending over a long period, Sparta had become supreme in the Peloponnesus. Her influence at this time is shown by the fact that she was invited to decide the dispute over Salamis between Megara and Athens about 570 B. C.¹ Beginning with Tegea about 560, she made treaties from time to time with all the Peloponnesian states except Argos and Achaea. They accepted her leadership in all wars, whether offensive or defensive. She supported aristocracies or oligarchies as against tyrannies and democracies. Meetings of the Confederacy were held at Sparta, to which each member sent representatives.² This Confederacy continued to exist, in a more or less complete form, until early in the fourth century, and on two occasions it became enlarged into an Hellenic League.³

This Confederacy was originally formed as a means of self-protection to Sparta. Only such cities were invited to join as were important to her personally. Corinth, for instance, was useful to her because it was a state difficult at all times to control, because it possessed a valuable fleet which could become a menace on the sea, and because it commanded the Isthmus from the south. Megara was important because she controlled the Isthmus proper. Indeed, Sparta sought friend-

¹ See above, Ch. VII, p. 136.

² Sparta left autonomy to her allies (Thuc. V, 77, 5; 79, 1), but she always encouraged oligarchies therein (cf. Thuc. I, 19, 76.) See Whibley, *op. cit.* p. 56.

³ In 480-78 and 405-395. See Ferguson, *op. cit.* pp. 88 f.

ly alliances even in northern Greece with such states as Boeotia, Phocis and Thessaly. This was done from sundry motives but ultimately for the one purpose of her own safety.

Sparta's policy seems to have been determined, directly or indirectly, by conditions within her own country,⁴ but there were external conditions also that were determining. Athens' rising power, due to its prosperity under Solon and the Pisistratids, loomed up as a possible menace to her in the future. This is one reason that she sought allies in Boeotia and Thessaly, states that could suppress Athens on the north. Then, too, she saw that she must guard against possible invasion from the north. For this purpose Phocis would be invaluable through the approval of Delphi, which would thus become her friend among the northern states. But as she had always been closely associated with Apollo's shrine, it was necessary to keep a road open to Delphi. Thus religious motives played a part.⁵

But there were in the organization of such a Confederacy advantages no less definite to Sparta's allies. Corinth joined through rivalry of Athens and Argos, who was Sparta's enemy.⁶ To Megara there were several reasons. As we have already stated, Sparta had been instrumental in the restoration of Nisaea to her. Megara thereupon felt herself, in a measure at least, under the protection of Sparta. She may also have felt the need of such a league through a feeling of commercial rivalry with Athens,⁷ especially since she had lost Salamis. And Corinth had always been a threat on her western boundaries.⁸ Since aristocracy or oligarchy had been

⁴ See the careful analysis of Grundy, *l. c.* For a different point of view see Dickins, *J. H. S.* XXXII, 1912, pp. 1 ff., especially pp. 17 ff.; but cf. Grundy's reply, *ibid.* pp. 261 ff.

⁵ Cf. the incident cited in Ch. VIII, p. 139, n. 5. For this topic cf. Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* I, pp. 672 ff.

⁶ Cf. Whibley, *op. cit.* p. 54, and Grundy, *l. c.*

⁷ But how can Whibley say (*l. c.* § 18, note 1) that Megara was probably a democracy at this time?

⁸ See, for example, the passage from Plutarch quoted in Ch. V, note 5, above. Another good commentary on this subject is found

the normal form of government in Megara up to the present time, the ruling class would find a special friend in such a state as Sparta.

At what time Megara joined the Confederacy we are not told, but it probably occurred soon after 560.⁹ The visit of Theognis to Sparta, which we may put at about 565, must have done much to inspire such a move.

in Cimon's sharp retort to the Corinthian Lechartus on his country's accustomed invasion of Megaris: Plutarch, *Cimon*, 17.

⁹ The first historical reference seems to be in Herodotus (IX, 28), where Megára is spoken of as under the leadership of Sparta. This is considerably earlier than the date usually assumed. We know that the Confederacy was thoroughly organized by about 509 B. C. (Hdt. V, 91), and may not have been established before 520-510 B. C. So Wells, *J. H. S.* XXV, 1905, p. 200, and Dickins, *J. H. S.* XXXII, 1912, pp. 28-30, since king Cleomenes was active in Central Greece at this time. But we have no definite evidence and the chronology of this whole period is very uncertain. See especially Wells, *J. H. S.* XXV, pp. 193 ff., and How and Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, II, App. XVII.

CHAPTER X

THE PERSIAN WAR

See especially the critical discussions of Grundy, *The Great Persian War*, 1901; Macan, *Herodotus*, II, 1908, Appendix volume; Glover, *Herodotus*, 1924, pp. 222-59; Admiral Sir Reginald Custance, *War at Sea, Modern Theory and Ancient Practice*, Edinburgh and London, 1919; Bury, *A History of Greece*, pp. 265 ff.; Wells, *Studies in Herodotus*, Oxford, 1923, pp. 145-68; Munro and Walker, *Camb. Anc. History*, IV, 1926, pp. 229 ff.

The later Persian war was intended as a blow aimed primarily at Athens. But unfortunately the Greek states were now generally divided in opinion. With what feelings, therefore, Megara first prepared to meet the crisis we can only imagine. For the memory of the loss of Salamis was but a century old, and of the capture of Nisaea a generation less than that. Megara and Athens had never been friends, but a kindly feeling toward Boeotia seems to have existed from early times.¹ There were further complications due to the fact that Boeotia, with the exception of Plataea and Thespieae, refused to join Athens and Sparta through jealousy of Athens, who had been meddling in her internal affairs; and Argos refused her help through jealousy of Sparta.² But Megara was still a fairly rich and powerful state, and her position on the Isthmus strategic;³ hence it was clearly to her own interest to remain faithful to the Greek cause. But she must have done so in the midst of inevitably conflicting motives. Whether she was present at the Pan-Hellenic Congress in 481 we do not know.⁴

¹ See the Appendix to Ch. III above.

² Cf. Rhys Roberts, *The Ancient Boeotians*, pp. 21 ff.

³ Diodorus states (XI, 18) that the Megarians and Aeginetans were second only to the Athenians in naval ability and especially eager to have their part in the battle of Salamis, as they alone would be without a retreat for safety if the battle went against the Greeks.

⁴ Herodotus (VII, 145. Cf. 172) refers to those present as τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ ἀμείνω φρονούντων καὶ διδόντων σφίσιν λόγον

The Persian invasion had been long feared. Theognis⁵ had already invoked Zeus and Apollo to save his city from the Medes after the latter had begun their advance against the cities of Asia Minor. But it was not until later that Megarian resources were to be given an actual trial.

The Megarians took no part at Marathon, which was a great Athenian triumph,⁶ or at Thermopylae; but at Artemisium, the naval counterpart of the latter, they furnished 20 triremes.⁷ This battle was not decisive, as both the Greek and Persian fleets suffered severely. But the Greeks had been defeated at Thermopylae, leaving the Persians free to move

καὶ πῶς. There is no extant list of the states that were invited to attend the Congress. Macan (*Herodotus*, II, App. p. 219) says: "States, the names of which are written in any of the Greek army- and navy-lists by Herodotus, or on the Serpent-pillar, or in the Olympic roll, may be safely included in the original Confederacy, so far as not known to have joined at a later stage." On this principle Megara would of course be included. Some hold that Athens took the initiative in organizing the Pan-Hellenic Confederacy. See Macan, *l. c.*

⁵ Theognis, 757-68, 773-82. Busolt, *Die Lak.* I, p. 290, n. 38, and Harrison, *Studies in Theognis*, 1902, pp. 282 ff., try to prove that the latter passage can refer only to the Persian invasion of 490, or to that of 480-79. But Hudson-Williams shows (*The Elegies of Theognis*, pp. 9 ff.) that both passages suit much better the dread of a Persian invasion in 545 under Cyrus. In this connection he quotes in particular Hdt. I, 152 (the dread concern of the Greek states, especially Sparta) and VI, 112 (the dread of the Persian name before Marathon). The crucial expressions in the Theognidean passages are (1) *στρατὸν ὑβριστὴν Μήδων* (775) and (2) *ἀφραδίην . . . καὶ στάσις Ἑλλήνων λαοφθόρον* (780 f.); but they are quite general, and equally well describe the situation in Ionia as in Greece proper before 490 or 480. No special instance is required to illustrate Persian *ὑβρις* from the Greek point of view, and *στάσις* among the Greek states was common at all times. Furthermore, it was shown in Ch. VIII above that Theognis' *floruit* must have come about 565, which would make it impossible for him to have lived so late as 490.

⁶ See Munro, *J. H. S.* XIX, 1899, pp. 185 ff. Seltman, *Athens, Its History and Coinage Before the Persian Invasion*, pp. 102 ff.

⁷ Hdt. VIII, 1.

southward into Attica, which was now defenseless, since nearly all its men were serving on the fleet. The Lacedaemonians who had survived the defeat withdrew to the Isthmus at Corinth, where they began to construct a wall across the Isthmus in order to block the progress of the Persians if they should venture thus far.⁸

After the battle of Artemisium the Greek fleet moved southward to Salamis, where the Delphic oracle, according to Themistocles, had advised the Greeks to meet the Persians. Again the Megarians furnished 20 triremes.⁹

The importance of the Isthmus is clearly shown by the debate that is said to have taken place¹⁰ on the question whether the Greeks should fight the Persians in the straits between Salamis and Attica or retire to the Isthmus and there defend themselves. In the latter case Megara, Aegina and Salamis would certainly be lost according to the view of Themistocles, who finally prevailed over the Corinthian general Adimantus; and at Salamis the Greeks decided to make their stand. The wisdom of Themistocles was amply proved by later developments.

The topography of the battle of Salamis has been a matter of debate,¹¹ but it seems fairly certain that the Lacedaemonians were on the right wing, opposing the Ionian Greeks, and the Megarians with the Aeginetans and Athenians on the left wing, opposing the Phoenicians.¹² The wings of the fleet

⁸ Hdt. VIII, 71.

⁹ Hdt. VIII, 45.

¹⁰ Hdt. VIII, 59 ff. Cf. 70, 74.

¹¹ See Wheeler, *T. A. P. A.* XXXIII, 1902, pp. 127 ff.; Goodwin, *Harvard Studies*, XVII, 1906, pp. 75 ff. Both of these articles are primarily topographical, but they also contain much valuable historical material. Goodwin's view of the respective positions of the opposing lines is now usually accepted. See Macan, *op. cit.* 297 ff.; Admiral Sir Reginald Custance, *op. cit.* pp. 14 ff., which has a valuable plan; *Klio*, 1908, p. 477 ff.; *Εφ. 'Αρχ.* 1909, pp. 45 ff.

¹² Hdt. VIII, 85. Diodorus (XI, 17, 18) puts the Athenians and Lacedaemonians on the left wing, the Aeginetans and Megarians on the right. But as Goodwin and Grundy show, Herodotus is here to be followed.

were the critical points. Xerxes had previously ordered his Egyptian contingent to blockade the passage between Salamis and the coast of Megaris.¹³

The course of the battle has been briefly but vividly described by Herodotus¹⁴ and Aeschylus.¹⁵ Most of the Persian ships were disabled either by the Athenians or the Aeginetans, whereas only a few of the Greeks were lost. The Athenians, and after them the Aeginetans, are said to have gained the greatest glory. What part the Megarians played we are not told.

As has been stated before, the Lacedaemonians had for months been fortifying the Isthmus with a wall extending across its narrow western part within the territory of Corinth. They also blocked the Scironian Way.¹⁶ During the winter of 480 the Persian fleet was stationed at Cyme and Samos, while the army of Mardonius was in Thessaly and Macedonia.¹⁷ The Greek fleet and army remained in their home territory.

In the spring of 479 Athens, having rejected the offer of the Spartans to allow its people to retire to the Peloponnesus as a place of safety, pleaded that the Spartan army move from the Isthmus into Boeotia and there join the Athenian army in giving battle to the Persians. Athens had previously scorned Mardonius' offer to Medize. Mardonius, therefore, soon began to advance for the purpose of re-occupying Attica. But the Spartan army would not leave the Isthmus, and soon Attica was invaded by the enemy. This move finally shook off the Spartan indifference, and the army at last advanced.¹⁸ Mardonius thereupon evacuated Attica and withdrew into Boeotia.¹⁹ It was now the middle of summer.

¹³ Hdt. VIII, 70, 74, 76; Diodorus, XI, 17.

¹⁴ Hdt. VIII, 86-93.

¹⁵ Aeschylus, *Persians*. But no Greeks are named.

¹⁶ Hdt. VIII, 71. Cf. IX, 7.

¹⁷ Hdt. VIII, 126, 130.

¹⁸ Hdt. IX, 11.

¹⁹ Hdt. VIII, 140-144.

Herodotus states²⁰ that as Mardonius was about to withdraw to Thebes, a messenger informed him that a fresh Lacedaemonian army had arrived at Megara. He thereupon reversed his course in order to capture this army if possible while his cavalry, which had gone ahead, ravaged the surrounding country. Later the myth grew up about this event which told how, when the Megarians were hard pressed in the neighborhood of Pagae, Artemis came to their rescue and confused and routed the Persians. Thus the Megarians were saved and out of gratitude to the goddess they dedicated a temple to her.²¹ The Greeks were now concentrating on the Isthmus.²²

It was in the fall of 479 that the Greeks and Persians met at Plataea. The Greek forces were drawn up on a narrow front on the foothills of Mt. Cithaeron,²³ but the Megarians were encamped on an open plain. Such a location was advantageous to the Persian cavalry. The Megarians furnished 3,000 men and, with the Phliasians and some others, formed the Greek left center.²⁴ This position was the point that would be most assailable. And during the battle, after the Greeks had taken up their first position, the Megarians were hard pressed. So serious, indeed, for a time was their position, that they were compelled to send an urgent demand for help.²⁵ But the Greek army won a complete triumph,²⁶ and

²⁰ Hdt. IX, 14.

²¹ Paus. I, 40, 44. Cf. Ch. I, p. 10 above. Grundy (*op. cit.* pp. 448 f.) thinks that this incident must be placed several days before the time mentioned by Herodotus.

²² Hdt. IX, 15.

²³ Hdt. IX, 28; Plutarch, *Aristeides*, 14.

²⁴ Hdt. IX, 20, 21; Diod. XI, 30; Plutarch, *l. c.* For a recent discussion of the campaign about Plataea see Clark, *Cl. Phil.* XII, 1917, pp. 30 ff.; Wells, *op. cit.* pp. 159-163.

²⁵ Plutarch, *l. c.*; Diod. XI, 30.

²⁶ By general agreement the prize was given to the Plataeans. As Athens and Sparta had quarreled, at the suggestion of Theogiton, the Megarian, a council was called and the decision rendered in favor of the Plataeans (Plutarch, *Arist.* 20).

in this decisive battle definitely freed their country of the Persian power.

This contingent furnished by Megara was a large one—too large according to Beloch.²⁷ But Grundy has pointed out²⁸ that the Greek army was now larger than when it entered Boeotia, owing to re-inforcements;²⁹ and Greece was making a supreme effort to save herself. These troops were nearly all from the Peloponnesus, Attica and Megara.

The Greeks celebrated this triumph by dedicating a golden tripod at Delphi. And upon the bronze coils of the three intertwined serpents were inscribed the names of those who fought in the battle, among them the Megarians.³⁰ At Olympia also they recorded their victory by dedicating a statue to Zeus, with face toward the east. On the right side of the pedestal were cut the names of those who took part, the Megarians being sixth in order.³¹

Mycale followed Plataea by only a few days. The Greek fleet which had been stationed at Delos started for Samos, prepared to liberate the Greeks of Asia Minor if possible. The Athenians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Troezenians and Lacedaemonians were pointed out for distinguished service.³² And of these the Athenians are said to have gained the greatest glory, although the victors paid dearly for their triumph. But here also the Megarians played their part as we learn from an epigram composed in the spirit of Simonides.³³ By

²⁷ Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griech. röm. Welt*, p. 173; *Klio*, VI, 1906, pp. 52 ff. Scott, *Cl. Jr.* X, 1915, pp. 396 ff., has defended the general reliability of Herodotus with respect to the size of Xerxes' army.

²⁸ Grundy, *op. cit.* p. 470. Plutarch (*De Defect. Or* 8) seems to consider this number normal. For another explanation see below, Ch. XII, n. 39.

²⁹ The total force was now 108,200 (Hdt. IX, 28).

³⁰ See Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*², No. 19. Cf. Hdt. IX, 81; Thuc. I, 132; Ps.-Dem. in *Neaer.* 97; Diod. XI, 33; Paus. X, 13, 9.

³¹ Paus. V, 23, 1.

³² Hdt. IX, 102.

³³ See Hicks and Hill, *op. cit.* No. 17.

Pausanias we are further informed ³⁴ that these illustrious dead were buried within the city walls, along with their brothers who had fought at Artemisium, Salamis and Plataea.

In his seventh *Isthmian Ode* Pindar ³⁵ refers, in a veiled way, to Plataea and Salamis as the respective triumphs of Sparta and Athens. But there is another side to the picture also. In the *Laws* Plato ³⁶ makes the Athenian refer to Marathon as the beginning and Plataea the completion of the deliverance of Greece—battles that made the Greeks better, he says. But he also adds that the other battles did not do this. And we ourselves can see that as a result of her naval victories Athens was destined to establish that Confederacy which ultimately brought on the Peloponnesian War. Of its dire consequences for Megara we shall learn in a subsequent chapter.

³⁴ Paus. I, 43, 3.

³⁵ Pindar, *Isth.* VII, and Bury's introduction. This ode was composed probably in the spring of 478 B. C., and celebrated the victory of Cleander of Aegina in the pancratium at the Isthmia. In its veiled allusions it gives an impressive picture of the peril and deliverance of Greece. But the poet was "heavy at heart" largely because his native Thebes had taken no part in liberating Greece when she was "sore troubled."

³⁶ Plato, *Laws*, 707 C. Cf. Glover, *op. cit.* p. 242.

CHAPTER XI

FROM THE PERSIAN WAR TO THE BATTLE OF SYBOTA

The principal sources, which are very meagre, are given in Hill, *Sources For Greek History 478-431*, and in Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*², pp. 15-94. Grundy, *Thucydides and the History of His Age*, is full of valuable facts and suggestive ideas, and I am greatly indebted to this work even where specific reference is not made to it. Useful, though often extreme in some of its theories, is Conford's *Thucydides Mythistoricus*. Lamb, *Clio Enthroned, a Study of Prose-Form in Thucydides*, has many valuable suggestions and serves as a corrective to Cornford. Many of the writers cited in Ch. XII, *init.*, naturally discuss some of the topics treated here. For the chronology of the period see Morris, *A. J. P.* VII, 1886, pp. 325 ff.; West, *Cl. Phil.* X, 1915, pp. 34 ff.; XX, 1925, pp. 216 ff.

The consequences of the Persian War for the Greek world were several. Because of her leadership, Athens now claimed to be the liberator of Greece. Soon, therefore, under the inspiration and leadership of Themistocles she began to enlarge her fleet, which ultimately became recognized as a potential menace to the other states. Then the Delian League was organized which, in due course, became the Athenian Empire. Diodorus¹ speaks of the marvelous prosperity of Greece after the Persian War, prosperity that lasted for a period of fifty years. He states that every Greek state enjoyed this prosperity. This probably means, among other things, that the war had interrupted the importation of grain from the Pontic district; for immediately after the defeat of the Persians in 479, Athens set about freeing the Hellespont of Persian rule. Thus Athens established herself at Sestus, an important station.² Clearly she was trying to get a stronger hold upon this valuable district, as she had already occupied Sigeum and the Thracian Chersonese. Once again, we may believe, Pontic grain was being conveyed to the Greek world.

The war seems to have left the Isthmus but slightly affected.

¹ Diod. XII, 1. Cf. Grundy, *op. cit.* pp. 74 f.

² Hdt. IX, 115. For its importance see Thuc. VIII, 62; Xen. *Hell.* IV, 8, 5.

Megara's territory had been invaded once, and she had lost men at Artemisium, Salamis, Plataea and Mycale, but the total damage in respect to men and natural resources was not great. Megara also no doubt received her share of slaves, which increased enormously in Greece during this period.³

The events of the time represented by the present chapter may be conveniently divided into three periods: from 479 to 461, a time of reconstruction and material increase in wealth; from 461 to 446, during which time Megara was under Athens' domination; and from 446 to 432, when Megara was free but seemingly more and more the object of Athens' discrimination commercially.

Concerning the first period little more can be said than has already been stated. We hear of the complaints of the wealthy in 479 because of their burdens and their loss of power.⁴ Evidently the war had made a heavy toll on finances. But Athens was now to enter upon that period of literary and artistic activity which has been given the name "Classical" and Megara was too close to remain unaffected by such Athenian work.

Most of the events of the second period gain their significance from the fact that with her occupation of Naupactus in 460, Athens began her attempts to control the Corinthian Gulf and ultimately this shorter and safer sea-route to the West.⁵ Now up to the present time Megara had been a member of Sparta's Confederacy. But in 461 she became involved in a dispute with Corinth on the question of boundaries, deserted the Confederacy, and allied herself with Athens. Thereupon Athens got possession of Nisaea and Pagae, and constructed the Long Walls which joined Megara and Nisaea, placing a garrison there to man them. This was the cause of the great hatred felt by Corinth for Athens thereafter.⁶

³ Grundy, *op. cit.* pp. 105, note 1.

⁴ Plutarch, *Aristeides*, 13.

⁵ For Athens' expansion toward the West see Cornford, *op. cit.* pp. 39 ff. and cf. Thuc. I, 111.

⁶ Thuc. I, 103. Cf. 107; Diod. XI, 79. In the following year

The year 458/7 found Megara the scene of a battle between the Corinthians and Athenians. While the Athenian army was away in Egypt and Aegina, the Corinthians seized the heights of Mt. Gerania and invaded the Isthmus. But a hastily improvised force of Athenian elders and youths under Myronides was hurried to the Isthmus, and finally the Corinthians were compelled to withdraw. Both sides claimed the victory.⁷ In the battle of Tanagra, fought this same year, the Athenians were defeated by the Lacedaemonians, although the latter did not take the Isthmus from Athens. However, on their return homeward they devastated Megara's territory by cutting down the fruit trees.⁸

The final significant event of this period was the defeat of Athens in the battle of Coronea fought in 447/6. Megara now deserted Athens and again went over to the side of Sparta. This move was very probably brought about by the oligarchs.⁹ An Athenian garrison had been stationed in Megara, and an army under Andocides, grandfather of the orator, had been sent to the Isthmus. But suddenly and unexpectedly, the Athenians, except those who had fled to Nisaea,¹⁰ were murdered, probably by the Corinthians, Sicyonians and Epidaurians who had been admitted. Thereupon Andocides laid Megaris waste. But in order to escape from the Lacedaemonian army, which commanded the Scironian Way, Andocides was finally compelled to leave the Isthmus.

Athens constructed her own Long Walls to the Piraeus. Whibley (*op. cit.* p. 84 and note 2) thinks that Megara became a democracy at this time through the influence of Athens. Perhaps it is more natural to say that the democrats were influential in making this alliance with Athens.

⁷ Thuc. I, 104, 105; Hicks and Hill, *op. cit.* No. 26; Lysias, II, 48-53; Diod. XI, 79.

⁸ Thuc. I, 108. But cf. Plato, *Menex.* 242 B; Diod. XI, 81, 6.

⁹ Cf. Bury, *A History of Greece*, p. 362. This form of government probably continued until 427. See Thuc. IV, 66. Diodorus states (XII, 5) that Megara had sent an embassy to the Lacedaemonians.

¹⁰ Thuc. I, 114. Pausanias (I, 29, 13) read the monument at Athens that recorded the names of the fallen.

He was led by the Corinthian Gulf through Boeotia to Attica by a Megarian named Pythion. Out of gratitude, the three Athenian tribes thus saved later dedicated a funeral monument to Pythion which has survived to us, and its quaint language can still be read.¹¹ To commemorate their revolt, in 445 the Megarians dedicated a statue to Apollo at Delphi,¹² where the god was represented holding a spear in his hand.¹³ For this lack of taste Plutarch¹⁴ censures them and states that later they presented a golden plectrum to the god, a gift more in keeping with the sacredness of the place.

With the conclusion of the Thirty Years' Peace in 446/5, Athens agreed to surrender both Nisaea and Pagae.¹⁵ This meant that she would have less access to the shorter sea-route to Sicily and the west and that her country would be open to an invader from the south, as she could no longer depend upon the Long Walls at Megara to protect her. By some it is thought that she further guaranteed Megara free access to her markets and to the markets of the Empire.¹⁶

The third division of this period is represented by two significant events. In 440 Byzantium, encouraged no doubt by Megara, also deserted the Athenian Empire and joined Samos, Athens' enemy.¹⁷ This act naturally intensified Athens' hatred of Megara. The move of Megara in 446 and of her colony in 440 were very probably the main causes of the resentment felt by Athens toward Megara thereafter. Now, for no apparent reason, Megara had broken the alliance she had voluntarily sought in 461 and thus left Athens vulnerable on her land side and deprived of the much-coveted ports. These were the inspiring motives of the decree of exclusion after-

¹¹ See Hicks and Hill, *op. cit.* No. 38.

¹² Paus. X, 15, 1.

¹³ Plut. *Pyth. Or.* 16.

¹⁴ Plut. *l. c.*

¹⁵ Thuc. I, 115; Andoc. III, 3. See Ch. I, p. 28 and note 96 above.

¹⁶ Cf. Thuc. I, 67, 4. See, however, Bonner, *Cl. Phil.* XVI, 1921, pp. 243 ff.

¹⁷ Thuc. I, 115. The story of Pericles' campaign against Samos is given in Thuc. I, 116-118.

ward passed against Megara. Megara further showed her friendliness to Corinth at this time by promising to send eight ships with colonists to Epidamnus, after the latter had been invested by Corcyra.¹⁸

Finally, in the autumn of 433 Megara helped Corinth at the battle of Sybota, furnishing twelve ships.¹⁹ This was during the famous expedition whose purpose was to punish Corinth's colony Corcyra. Athens aided Corcyra. The Megarians and Ambraciots formed the right wing facing the Corcyraeans. But it was a battle clumsily fought owing to the great number of ships engaged. And once the Corinthians became so confused that they turned upon their own allies, the Megarians and Ambraciots, and began to slay them. The Corinthian right wing was defeated, but the left wing, being superior in numbers, was victorious. After a long-continued fight both sides claimed the victory.

The above survey demonstrates very clearly two things: first, that since the close of the Persian War Megara had followed an opportunist policy, for the most part siding with either Athens or Corinth, being in 432 an ally of Corinth; secondly, that the Isthmus was generally recognized to be of first importance, whether for military or commercial purposes, to Athens and to her enemies. This latter feature is rightly emphasized in connection with the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.

The significance of the period is further seen especially in the events of 461-446. The campaigns of this period, in the main, represent the efforts of Athens to get control of the shorter and safer route to the grain markets in Sicily and the West. But by the peace of 446/5 she retained only Naupactus, which meant that this trade-route was still open to general competition. However, an Athenian blockading squadron could still be stationed here to cut off commerce with the West if occasion should arise. The position was

¹⁸ Thuc. I, 27.

¹⁹ Thuc. I, 46, 48. For the battle see Thuc. I, 48-54, and Admiral Sir Reginald Custance, *op. cit.* pp. 11-14, with plan.

strategic as it was located at a point where the Gulf is very narrow, hence would practically command it. In the winter of 430 Athens stationed twenty ships here for this very purpose.²⁰

It seems natural to suppose that during this same period mutual influences between Athens and Megara were most intimate. Megarian comedy may now have affected the development of the histrionic element in Attic comedy²¹; and *per contra*, it is likely that Athenian sculpture was now having its influence upon Megarian work.²²

In conclusion, it may be useful to indicate the alignment of the Greek states after the Peace of 446 and before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. Argos and Sparta had become allies. Boeotia had freed herself from Athens but was potentially hostile, a feeling that Sparta encouraged. Corinth was Athens' chief rival on the sea and was therefore constantly apprehensive of Athens' movements. Megara was, as we have seen, independent again.²³

²⁰ Thuc. II, 69. Cf. 83, 84, 92. Cf. Grundy, *op. cit.* p. 184.

²¹ See above, Ch. VIII, note 9.

²² See below, Ch. XIII. Theocosmus of Megara and Phidias, his teacher, were at work on a chryselephantine statue of Zeus, which was interrupted by the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 (Paus. I, 40, 3. Cf. VI, 7, 1).

²³ Cf. Grundy, *op. cit.* p. 196.

CHAPTER XII

THE MEGARIAN DECREES

Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* III, pp. 810 ff., gives a good bibliography up to 1904, and summarizes the different views that have been held regarding the Decrees. See also E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur Alten Geschichte*, II, 1899, pp. 296 ff. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians*, 1908, pp. 87, 95 ff., has a good account. He believes there were three decrees, as recorded in Plutarch. His main thesis is that Thucydides mentions the decrees only incidentally, whereas other authorities make them endowed with crucial effect in bringing on the war. See also Grundy and Cornford as in the preceding chapter and Dickins, *Cl. Quart.* V, 1911, pp. 238 ff. Bonner, *Cl. Phil.* XVI, 1921, pp. 238 ff., discusses the character of the decrees with special reference to the legal questions involved. He also cites some additional literature. G. Thieme, *Quaestionum Comicarum ad Periclem Pertinentium Capita Tria*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 30-46, makes a study of *Acharnians*, 515-539, giving a summary of the different views that have been held regarding the number, character, and time of the Decrees. See also Müller-Strübing, *Aristophanes und die historische Kritik*, 1873, pp. 40 ff.; and W. Vischer, *Kleine Schriften*, 1877, pp. 480 f.

The preceding chapters have shown that Megara's geographical position was both fortunate and unfortunate. Situated on the Isthmus she was in the path of cosmopolitan influences, and such a location undoubtedly had much to do with her early prosperity. From earliest times traffic and travel must have moved from northern Boeotia and the regions beyond to the sea-port Nisaea and *vice versa*. Pagae on the Corinthian Gulf afforded a good harbor which would readily connect her with a desirable trade-route to Sicily and the West. On the other hand, her territory was open to the invader whether he came by land or by sea. This unfortunate aspect of her location was manifest at various periods of her history but had never been so clearly revealed as it was during the course of the Peloponnesian War and the events immediately preceding it. She now found herself in the unfortunate position of a would-be neutral state that was powerless to preserve that

neutrality. Much of the significance that is attached to the Megarian Decrees is due entirely to the geographical position of the city.¹

The question of the ultimate causes that involved Megara in the greatest of the Greek civil wars has provoked endless discussion; for these causes lie many years back of the time when the actual outbreak of hostilities began. It is of course a common-place to insist upon the distinction between the remote cause and the immediate occasion of the war. Nevertheless, ancient historians generally stressed the latter at the expense of the former; and frequently it was the latter alone that was mentioned.

Megara's racial sympathies were naturally with the Dorian Peloponnesus. But she had never been genuinely friendly to Corinth, and in the present crisis her sympathies with that state were greatly restricted. On the other hand, she had no more reason to love Athens. Consequently, when before 431 B. C. she had sided either with Corinth or with Athens, it was for reasons of policy or of immediate necessity. It was as if she had been placed between the jaws of a vice which were gradually closing upon her and crushing her.

Of the different views that have been held regarding the causes of the war only three especially concern us now: First, that Sparta, jealous of Athens' growing power, was forced into the war, which was therefore inevitable. This is the view of Thucydides. Second, the war was promoted by Pericles from personal motives. This is the view presented by Aristophanes and Plutarch. Finally, it was brought about as the result of the rivalry between Corinth and Athens for trade in the West. This is a modern explanation which has been added by modern economic historical criticism. These views, of course, are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but present what the different authorities in each case have felt to be the outstanding issue from their own point of view. We shall recur to them a little later.

¹ Cf. Cornford, *op. cit.* pp. 32 ff., following Bérard's "law of isthmuses," *Les Phéniciens et l'Odysée*. I, pp. 61 ff.

The overt acts which led to the immediate outbreak of hostilities seem to have been four:² the defensive alliance made by Athens with Corcyra, a colony of Corinth, in 434 B. C.; the battle of Sybota in the fall of 433, when Athens aided Corcyra, and Megara aided Corinth; the siege of Potidaea by Athens in the early summer of 432; the decree of exclusion passed against Megara by Athens in the winter of 432.

Another preliminary duty is to examine very briefly the character of our sources. On the one hand we have Thucydides, a careful, scientific historian, whatever may be his limitations and prejudices, whose outstanding principles of historiography are, according to Bury, accuracy and relevance.³ "He is bold and masterful in his omissions." Furthermore, he frequently speaks from autopsy or on the basis of information he had received from first-class witnesses. In respect to this Decree he gives what may be appropriately called the official view of the state.

Contrasted with Thucydides we have Aristophanes, a comic poet, and Plutarch, a moralist and a writer who was always on the search for a good anecdote. Their statements too often record only the passing gossip of the time after the war had started,⁴ and to that extent represent a typical *chronique scandaleuse*. It is the very genius of the Old Comedy to seek personal objects for its attacks, and the prominence of Pericles, who had been for some time in the ascendancy, was a ready mark. The element of propaganda in Aristophanes' plays is also prominent; but first and last, they were of course intended to amuse and entertain. Plutarch's sources for his life of Pericles have been shown to be good, but his attitude toward the great statesman seems to have been rather hostile.⁵ He was clearly much influenced by

² Conveniently summarized in Cornford, *op. cit.* pp. 4 ff., and Grundy, *op. cit.* p. 322.

³ Bury, *The Anc. Gk. Hist.* pp. 81 ff.

⁴ This point is important, and is emphasized by Cornford.

⁵ In *Pericles* 10, Plutarch states that some of the passages he has taken from the comic poets are slanderous. Cf. Grundy, *op. cit.* p. 145, n. 1.

Plato and Aristotle in his view of Pericles.⁶ Diodorus, like Plutarch a late writer, follows earlier sources and is under the influence of rhetoric. He adds nothing that is original.

Both Thucydides⁷ and Aristophanes⁸ seem to mention only one Decree, that of 432 after the battle of Sybota, which closed the Athenian markets to Megara and meant starvation. If we follow Bury's view, we may conclude that Thucydides failed to mention another, in case there was another, because he considered only this particular Decree important. If the Athenians had been willing to heed the Lacedaemonians and revoke this Decree, the war could have been at least put off. Thucydides,⁹ Aristophanes,¹⁰ Plutarch¹¹ and Diodorus¹² agree on this point. So far, but so far only, do all our authorities agree.

Plutarch¹³ is our only authority who explicitly mentions the passage of a second Decree, the so-called Decree of Charinus, according to which Athens declared a truceless war upon Megara. In accordance with this Decree, Megara's territory was to be invaded twice each year, and any Megarian setting foot on Attic soil was to be put to death. The charges brought against Megara were three: that she had cultivated sacred ground at Eleusis; that she had put to death the sacred herald Anthemocritus, who had been sent to remonstrate with her;

⁶ See Perrin, *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 1909, pp. 219 ff., and Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 344, note 21.

⁷ Thuc. I, 67, 139, 140, 144. In I, 67 we are given the substance of the Decree: *μάλιστα δὲ λιμένων τε εἶργεσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχῇ καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀγορᾶς*. Cf. 139; Diod. XII, 39. The Decree itself has not been preserved. Aelian (V. H. XII, 53) also speaks of one Decree. See below, note 44.

⁸ Aristoph. *Acharn.* 532-534, *Peace* 609.

⁹ Thuc. I, 139.

¹⁰ Aristoph. *Acharn.* 530-37; *Peace* 246-9, and schol.

¹¹ Plut. *Per.* 29.

¹² Diodorus, XII, 39, 40, following Ephorus, Aristophanes and Eupolis.

¹³ Plut. *Per.* 30. See also Ps.-Dem. XII, 4; XIII, 32; Paus. I, 36, 3; III, 4, 2 for Anthemocritus.

that she had sheltered fugitive slaves. The date of its passage is not given, but it must have come soon before the opening of the war in the spring of 431.¹⁴ The only possibility of finding a reference to such a Decree in Thucydides is his statement in I, 139. Here he tells us that the Lacedaemonians pled with the Athenians to revoke the (first) Decree in order that the war might be prevented. But the Athenians refused, bringing as charges the fact that Megara had tilled sacred ground and had received fugitive slaves.¹⁵ In all other passages¹⁶ Thucydides speaks only of the substance of the Decree or of its effect. Plutarch likewise mentions a third Decree, which comes second in his enumeration.¹⁷ This Decree, he states, was issued by Pericles and ordered the

¹⁴ We should expect to find it stated in Thucydides between chapters 2 and 31 of Book II (Bury, *op. cit.* p. 87, n. 1; Cf Busolt, *op. cit.* III, p. 814, n. 4). But Bury thinks that Thucydides considered it as not affecting the outbreak of the war, hence did not mention it. Ulrich (*Das megarische Psephisma*) considers the statements of Plutarch reliable and dates the first Decree in the early summer of 432, the second, that of Charinus, sometime after the war had begun. But Plutarch himself admits that there is much uncertainty about the matter and says that Anthemocritus was *thought* to have been put to death by the Megarians. E. Meyer (*Forsch.* II, p. 328) believes there was a second Decree, but that it came in 431 after the war had begun, and credits the story concerning Anthemocritus. But Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, VI, pp. 76, 77 and note 1, doubts the truth of the claim.

The Athenian charge that Megara had tilled sacred ground dedicated to the Eleusinian goddesses, if true, is probably an additional witness to the acute economic situation in the city at this time, as ancient law solemnly warned against encroachment upon a neighbor's territory. For the possible location of this sacred territory see above, Ch. I, note 2. On the other hand, the reception of the deserters (*ἀφιστραμένων*) was no doubt a genuine blow to Athens, just as the occupation of Decelea later on by Sparta inspired over 20,000 slaves, many of them artisans, to desert (Thuc. VII, 27. 4, 5). But Athens was now primarily interested in discovering an excuse for war.

¹⁵ Thuc. I, 139, 2.

¹⁶ Thuc. I, 67, 4; 140, 3, 4; 144, 2.

¹⁷ Plut. *Per.* 30.

herald Anthemocritus, mentioned above, to go on his mission to the Megarians.

Let us now turn to Aristophanes. Lines 509-539 of the *Acharnians* is a *locus classicus* for the question of the Decrees. Dicaeopolis there says (Rogers' translation) :

"The Lacedaemonians I detest entirely;
And may Poseidon, Lord of Taenarum,
Shake all their houses down about their ears;
For I, like you, have had my vines cut down.
But after all—for none but friends are here—
Why the Laconians do we blame for this?
For men of ours, I do not say the State,
Remember this, I do not say the State,
But worthless fellows of a worthless stamp,
Ill-coined, ill-minted, spurious little chaps,
Kept on denouncing Megara's little coats.
And if a cucumber or a hare they saw,
Or suckling-pig, or garlic, or lump-salt,
All were Megarian, and were sold off-hand.
Still these were trifles, and our country's way.
But some young tipsy cottabus-players went
And stole from Megara-town the fair Simaetha.
Then the Megarians, garlicked with the smart,
Stole, in return, two of Aspasia's hussies.
From these three Wantons o'er the Hellenic race
Burst forth the first beginnings of the War.
For then, in wrath, the Olympian Pericles
Thundered and lightened, and confounded Hellas,
Enacting laws which ran like drinking-songs,
That the Megarians presently depart
From earth and sea, the mainland, and the mart.
Then the Megarians, slowly famishing,
Besought their Spartan friends to get the Law
Of the three Wantons cancelled and withdrawn.
And oft they asked us but we yielded not."

The *Acharnians* was presented in the year 425, several years after the last Decree must have been passed. Lines 532-4 of the play state the substance of the (first) Decree. The rest of the passage is but comic foil. A careful examination clearly shows this. It is difficult to see how lines

514-23 can refer to an earlier Decree, as some have held.¹⁸ All these lines can be made to mean is that over some considerable period very probably Athens had been excluding Megarian wares from the Athenian markets on pain of confiscation. Finally, Megara's part in helping Corinth at the battle of Sybota in 433 brought matters to a head, and the Decree which Thucydides mentions and which is mentioned in *Acharnians* 532-4, was formally passed by the state.¹⁹ The preceding lines must refer to acts on the part of the commercial party at Athens before the Decree was passed—mere customs regulations, for the most part, perhaps.²⁰ This is likewise probably the meaning of the "suspicion" mentioned by the Corinthians in Thucydides I, 42, 2; of the "sundry other differences" mentioned by the Megarians in Thucydides I, 67, 4; and of the Corinthian envoys' description of

¹⁸ Is it too much to see a thrust at the commercial party of the Piraeus in the metaphors of ll. 517-18 (*παρακεκομμένα, ἄττιμα, παράσημα*), which are taken from coins?

¹⁹ So Thieme (*op. cit.* p. 38) dates the Decree between Sybota and the conference mentioned by Thucydides in I, 67, 4. Aristophanes makes Pericles move the Decree, but Plutarch does not speak either of a formal Decree or of any individual in this connection.

²⁰ Cf. Bonner, *l. c.* pp. 239 f.; Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*,⁴ p. 427, note. Ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* II, 11 f., a contemporary document, is sometimes quoted as probably referring to the first Decree. Here the writer explains how Athens, as a maritime empire, is able to control the exports of her rivals by the threat of *driving them from the sea*. But the passage equally well describes the course of affairs after 446 B. C., when Athens was compelled to guard very carefully her food supply. Cf. Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism*, p. 62. Ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* II, 2 f., is also pertinent. For Athens' commercial policy during the Empire see Bonner, *Cl. Phil.* XVIII, 1923, pp. 193 ff.

The procedure followed by the Athenian sycophants against the Megarians was known as *φάσις*, in accordance with which the property involved was sold and the sycophant received half of the profit. See Bonner, *Cl. Phil.* XVI, p. 240, after Lipsius, *Das attische Recht*, p. 310, and Lofberg, *Sycophancy at Athens*, Chicago, 1917, pp. 19 ff.

Athens' conduct toward her neighbors in Thucydides I, 69, 3.²¹ If there had been a formal Decree passed by the state before 432, would Thucydides not have mentioned it? For note that Aristophanes in *Acharnians* 515-16 is careful to say:

ἡμῶν γὰρ ἄνδρες, κοῦχὶ τὴν πόλιν λέγω,
μέμνησθε τοῦθ' ὅτι οὐχὶ τὴν πόλιν λέγω.

We seem justified, then, in seeing no technical embargo here,²² but simply another example of Athenian meddling in the affairs of Megara, an illustration of the proverbial "Attic neighbor."²³

Acharnians 524-31 is, of course, only comic exaggeration and was certainly so understood by the audience. By placing the blame for the war on Simaetha, Aristophanes probably had a double purpose in view. He was first of all carrying to the limit Herodotus' famous dictum that women have caused all wars.²⁴ Perhaps, as some think, he was deliberately parodying Herodotus. But the special point of the joke is to be found in the fact that Megara was frequently spoken of as the particular gathering-place of such *ἑταῖραι*.²⁵ It was a characteristic comic thrust at Megara. The personal thrust at Pericles is also in line with the gossip of the time which connected Pericles prominently with Aspasia.²⁶ This same gossip said that Pericles began the war because he feared the same fate as Phidias, and wished to avoid giving an account of public money;²⁷ or wanted to humble the pride of

²¹ Thuc. I, 69, 3: καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα οἷα ὁδῶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅτι κατ' ὀλίγον χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας.

²² So Thieme, p. 36.

²³ Cf. Bonner, *Cl. Phil.* XVI, p. 240, and Ps.-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* II, 11 f., cited in note 20 above.

²⁴ Hdt. I, 1-5. Harpocration (*s. v.* Ἀσπασία), quoting from Duris of Samos and Theophrastus, makes Aspasia the cause of this war as well as of that against Samos.

²⁵ See especially the gossip preserved in Athenaeus.

²⁶ The current talk regarding Pericles and Aspasia may be conveniently read in Hill, *Sources of Greek History*, pp. 279-84.

²⁷ Aristoph. *Peace*, 603 ff.; Diod. XIII, 38.

the Peloponnesians;²⁸ or felt that he was being tested by his enemies.²⁹ In this connection it is interesting to note that Pericles is also made the cause of the war in the *Dionysalexandrus* of Cratinus.³⁰ Aristophanes is here followed by Plutarch³¹ and Diodorus.³² We know that Pericles denied the charge.³³ In a more serious vein Aristophanes elsewhere says that if the Decree against Megara had been revoked the war could have been put off.³⁴ Again he is followed by Plutarch³⁵ and Diodorus.³⁶

Only one more item needs to be mentioned in the present connection. It is quite probable that *Acharnians* 526-7 is a comic parody of the Athenian charge that Megara had sheltered fugitive slaves,³⁷ which led to the Decree of Charinus, according to Plutarch.³⁸

²⁸ Plut. *De Malig. Herod.* 6.

²⁹ Plut. *Per.* 30.

³⁰ See the argument in Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, IV, No. 663. On the subject see Thieme, *op. cit.*

³¹ Plut. *Per.* 29, 30.

³² Diod. XII, 39, 40.

³³ Thuc. I, 140; Plut. *Per.* 29. In a sense, perhaps, Pericles did hasten the outbreak of hostilities. Glover, *From Pericles to Philip*, p. 103, holds that Athens, by allying herself with Coreyra, upset the balance of power previously existing between herself and Corinth, and thus made the war inevitable. Pericles foresaw this and chose to have the advantage on the side of Athens. Corinth thus precipitated conditions. See also Dickins, *Cl. Quart.* V, 1911, pp. 238 ff., esp. p. 247. Cornford, *op. cit.* pp. 38, 51, thinks that the commercial party of the Piraeus, anxious to control Sicily, forced Pericles to pass the Decree against Megara. For a criticism of this view see Lamb, *op. cit.* pp. 40 ff.

³⁴ Aristoph. *Peace*, 608 f.

³⁵ Plut. *Per.* 29.

³⁶ Diod. XII, 39.

³⁷ Cf. Thuc. I, 139. At various periods Megara had sheltered refugees from Athens. Indeed, abundant references in the ancient writers show that Megara became a typical asylum at all times. Syracusan slaves fled thither in 405 (Xen. *Hell.* I, 2, 14); during the reign of the Thirty many distinguished Athenians fled there for refuge (Xen. *Hell.* II, 4, 1; Lys. XII, 17), etc.

³⁸ Plut. *Per.* 30.

What was the significance of this first Decree? Several answers can be given according as one considers the various interests at stake. To Sparta it meant that if Athens again got control of the Isthmus her own influence in north Greece would be at an end. To the Peloponnesian states, the allies of Sparta, it meant that the same treatment meted out to Megara might be meted out to themselves, and they would thus be kept from their supply of grain, as the Peloponnesus now depended upon Sicily for its grain.³⁹ To Megara the decree was crucial. While it is true that the markets of Corinth and the Peloponnesus were still open to her, which would give her a limited supply, the real significance of the act lies in the fact that the little state could no longer get its required amount of grain from Byzantium and the Pontic district, which market was now controlled by Athens and her powerful fleet. We have already seen how necessary the Pontic district was to Megara. Athens herself even as early as 570 B. C. had also pushed out with her ships into this same region, now that her own food supply was becoming a matter of concern. Later on she was struggling to maintain her hold on this region. If the question of the food supply was so acute at Athens, what must have been the situation at Megara whose territory was much less productive than Attica! Megara had not sent out a colony since about 559 B. C., hence her population must have been very dense.⁴⁰ We can well believe that

³⁹ Thuc. III, 86. Cf. Grundy, *op. cit.* p. 76.

⁴⁰ Cf. Grundy, *op. cit.* p. 78. Her territory was about one-fifth the size of Attica and about one-half that of Corinthia, but far less productive than either, and amounted to 470 qkm., or about 117,500 acres. Only about 22 per cent. of modern Greece is cultivable, which is less than the amount would be in ancient times (Grundy, *op. cit.* p. 59). But if we estimate 25 per cent. as the part of Megaris that was actually productive, we shall have 29,375 acres to support its people. In 432 B. C. Beloch (*Bevölkerung*, p. 506) estimates the population of Megaris to be 40,000 free-born, including women and children, although Cavaignac (*Klio*, XII, 1912, p. 275) puts it at 24,000. The male population at Athens in 431 B. C. is variously estimated at between 30,000 and 44,000, which would mean between

the woollen garments and the other local products mentioned in the *Acharnians* were being offered wherever it was possible for a Megarian to procure the much-needed grain. To cut off such markets meant starvation. It was slow at first, but later came on apace, as Aristophanes informs us.

Athens' primary motive in thus starving Megara was to compel her to join the Athenian Empire or at least to bring her into such a degree of submission that Attic control of the Isthmus would again be made possible.⁴¹ For Athens

120,000 and 176,000 total free-born (Zimmern, *The Greek Commonwealth*, p. 174). Since Megaris was less than one-fifth the size of Attica, the lowest estimate would indicate a dense population for a country so limited in resources. Add, too, a considerable number of slaves, perhaps at least 15,000 according to Zimmern's principle. Such a country was at all times dependent upon imported food. Cf. Sargent, *Size of the Slave Population at Athens*, 1924.

It is probable that the population had been growing rapidly since before the Persian War. For there had been no colony sent out after Heraclea in 559, and the large number of hoplites (3000) contributed by Megara at the battle of Plataea in 479 suggests the idea that there was no trouble to get volunteers. See above, Ch. X, p. 151 f. and notes 27, 28. It will be recalled, too, that at the battle of Sybota in 433, Megara furnished 12 triremes although she had planned to send only 8 triremes to Epidamnus. See above, Ch. XI, note 18. Probably the explanation here is the same as in 479—overpopulation and the resulting readiness of men to leave the home-country.

⁴¹ So Grundy (*op. cit.* p. 78), who regards the Athenian treatment of Megaris as a threat to the Peloponnesian states. She felt that, because of the discontent of her allies, war was preferable to peace which was maintained by an uncertain balance of power. Pericles wished Sparta to act in forcing the war (*op. cit.* p. 237). E. Meyer (*Gesch. des Alt.* IV, § 539; *Forschungen* II, pp. 297 ff.), Busolt (*Gr. Gesch.* III, p. 812) and Zimmern (*op. cit.* pp. 426 f.) hold that the first Decree was passed at the instigation of Pericles as a display of Athenian naval power in order to impress and warn Sparta if she should side with Athens' enemies. Megara was thus to be an example. On the other hand see above, note 33.

With Nisaea and Pagae in her possession, Athens would be assured of a route across the Isthmus that would help her to compete, to a certain extent at least, with Corinth's *διόλκος*. Cf. above,

was also now fighting for her life, and with the Isthmus under her control she could protect her own boundaries and at the same time keep open a shorter and safer route to the West. Likewise she would be able to control Boeotia. It will be recalled that as early as the time of Pisistratus she had coveted Nisaea, and that in 461 she had taken possession of Nisaea and Pagae as soon as Megara had deserted the Spartan Confederacy and had gone over to her side. But by the Peace of 446-5 she was compelled to give these ports up. Now she was trying to regain what she had lost. The course of events during the war itself will further prove this.

Annexation of Megara may possibly have been in her thoughts,⁴² but if so it would be secondary and only the means to an end. Such an idea would likewise be contrary to Pericles' declared principles, which forbade the acquisition of new territory.⁴³ What Athens was mainly concerned for now was a harbor on the Corinthian Gulf.

The second Decree, if there was such, only intensified the first. As we have already observed, Thucydides at best speaks of it as if it were only in the nature of an additional charge to defend Athens' refusal to revoke the first.

This first Decree, then, must be reckoned among the immediate occasions of the war. Indeed, it represented the final act that brought on hostilities, the spark that kindled the great conflagration, as Aristophanes put it. Antiquity thus interpreted it.⁴⁴ But even so Megara was a mere pretext.⁴⁵

Ch. V, p. 102. In this connection it is worth noting that the present Corinthian canal, following the path of the former *διολκος*, shortens the route from the Piraeus to the Adriatic by 202 miles (Gardner, as in Ch. V, n. 6).

⁴² So Bonner, *Cl. Phil.* XVI, p. 243; Nissen, *l. c.* But this cannot be the case until after 424, at least, when Cleon arose to power. Cf. below, Ch. XIII, and Grundy, p. 187.

⁴³ Thuc. I, 144, 1; II, 65, 7; Plut. *Per.* 20 f.; E. Meyer, *Forsch.* II, p. 304. Cf. West, *Cl. Phil.* XIX, 1924, p. 125.

⁴⁴ See Thuc. I, 139; Aristoph. *Acharn.* 530-37; *Peace* 609-11; Diod. XII, 39 (Ephorus); Plut. *Per.* 29 (all to the effect that the revocation of the Decree would have delayed the war); Andoc. III, 8

Corinth immediately drops out of the scene, and the conflict is carried on mainly by Athens and Sparta.

At this point the question naturally arises, Why did Megara not go over to the side of Athens rather than submit to starvation? She was now suffering as she had never suffered before. Furthermore, in 461 she had voluntarily joined the Athenian Empire. No doubt the democratic element in the state would have welcomed such a move again, but the oligarchs were too strong. The oligarchs on principle were opposed to Athens,⁴⁶ and Sparta frequently showed her hand to encourage this element in the governments of her allies and to oppose any democratic uprising. Much pressure must have been brought to bear upon Megara at this time in order to keep her faithful to the Spartan cause. But in 427, or possibly earlier, the populace did finally revolt and temporarily put the democratic element in power, which thereupon plotted to betray the city to the Athenians. But this plan miscarried and Megara was saved by the timely assistance of Brasidas.⁴⁷

(the Ath. διὰ Μεγαρέας πολεμήσαντες); Aesch. II, 175 (εἰς πόλεμον διὰ Μεγαρέας πεισθέντες καταστήναι); Aelian, V. H. XII, 53 (They say the Peloponnesian war was caused διὰ τὸ κατὰ Μεγαρέων πινάκιον).

⁴⁶ See the pertinent observations of Gildersleeve, "A Southerner in the Peloponnesian War," *The Creed of the Old South*, pp. 66 ff.

⁴⁶ See Ch. IX, p. 144; Whibley, *Political Parties at Athens During the Peloponnesian War*, pp. 31 ff.

⁴⁷ Thuc. IV, 66-74.

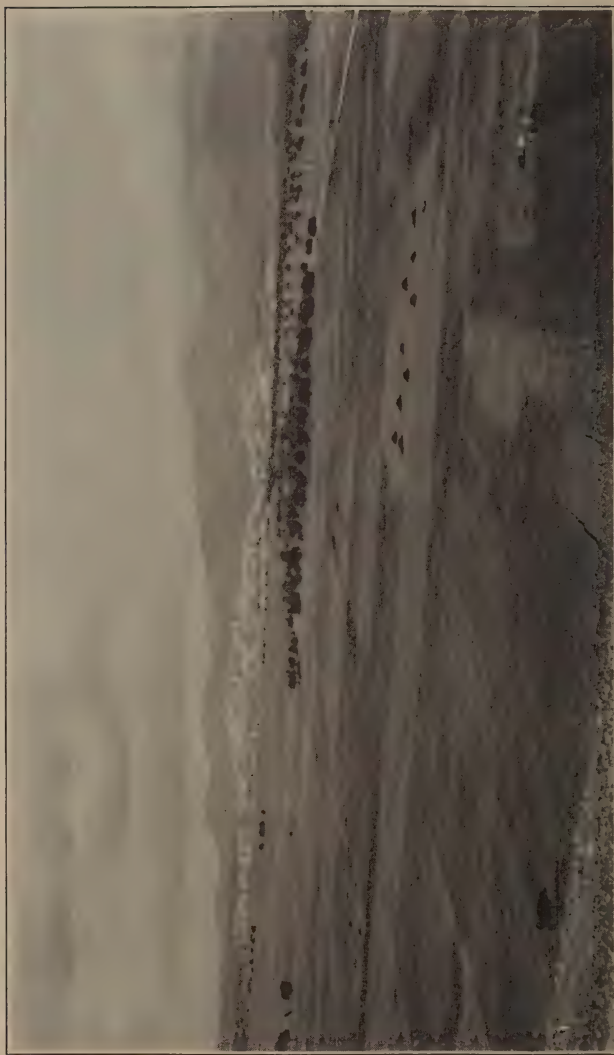


PLATE VI.—MODERN MEGARA FROM THE HILL OF MINOA.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

Two stipulations of the "Decree of Charinus" were that Athens should wage a truceless war against Megara and that the Isthmus should be invaded twice each year. These provisions were carried out to the letter, and such regular invasions took place until Nisaea was captured in 424.¹ The invasion in the autumn of 431 was led by Pericles himself at the head of the entire Athenian army consisting of 13,000 hoplites, 3,000 resident-aliens and a large company of light-armed troops. This was the greatest force that Athens mustered during the war, as she was now at the height of her strength. They were like a great band of field-mice, says the Megarian in the *Acharnians*, and spread destruction on every hand. The army was later joined by the fleet of 100 ships.² Much spoil was taken back to Athens. Each succeeding year the invasions were made by the whole army accompanied by the cavalry.³

Athens herself had already been invaded by Sparta when, in the late spring of 431, king Archidamus moved over the Isthmus and ravaged Attic territory after first giving Athens an opportunity to yield. It seems likely, therefore, that Athens' policy in regard to Megara had grown, partly at least, out of her own treatment at the hands of Sparta. But the Athenians, in conformity to the principles of Pericles, offered only passive resistance to their foe making no effort to attack

¹ Thuc. IV, 66; Plut. *Per.* 30; Aristoph. *Acharn.* 762 ff. The raids were carried out in spring and autumn, but the spring raid of 431 was omitted because the Lacedaemonian army was moving through Megaris to devastate Attica. This would seem to be the only exception to the rule. Plutarch (*l. c.*) states that the Athenian generals on assuming office were required to take an additional oath that they would carry out such raids.

² Thuc. II, 31; Diod. XII, 44; Plut. *Per.* 34.

³ Thuc. *l. c.*

the invader, since they considered themselves primarily a sea-power.⁴ But for Megara such destruction meant not only the loss of her local food supply, but likewise the inability to import grain if the opportunity should offer, since her vines, fig-trees and olive-trees were being cut down and her industries constantly interrupted, if not entirely destroyed; for she was thus left without the means wherewith to buy. Such is the picture presented by Aristophanes. Both Sparta and Athens, however, were only following a military principle that had been long recognized in antiquity according to which a city, whose territory was being ravaged, must either surrender or come out and fight. Hence the great size of the Athenian army on the first expedition into Megaris.⁵ The Megarians, like the Athenians, withdrew behind their Long Walls for protection until the enemy had left.

After devastating Attica king Archidamus had moved northward into Boeotia. In the following year the Lacedaemonians invaded south Attica. This year also witnessed the great plague. Overtures of peace which were sent by Athens to Sparta were rejected. Pericles was deposed as general, and fined, but re-elected.

In the late summer of 429, the Megarians instigated the Peloponnesians to attack the Piraeus which, because of Athens' powerful navy, had been left unprotected.⁶ The Peloponnesians were to gather at Megara, and then launching some forty vessels lying in dock at Nisaea, they were to move at once upon the Piraeus. It was expected that Athens would be unprepared for such an attack. But, on account of an

⁴ Thuc. I, 139-144. Cf. I, 81. Zimmern, *op. cit.* pp. 428 f. and note 1, has a good discussion.

⁵ The Lacedaemonian army expected to subdue Athens in a few years (Thuc. V, 14. Cf. IV, 85), whose territory was invaded five times (431, 430, 428, 427, 425) either in the spring or the summer when it would be especially easy to destroy the grain. The longest stay was 40 days. For the military principle, with other illustrations, see Grundy, *op. cit.* pp. 82 ff.; the application to the Athenian invasion of Megaris is my own.

⁶ Thuc. II, 93, 94.

opposing wind and because they had decided that such a direct attack might prove to be unwise, they sailed from Nisaea and first attacked a fort, Budorum, on a point of Salamis opposite the Megarian coast. This fort was taken and the three triremes, which had been stationed on guard there against smugglers, were towed off. Then they began to lay waste the rest of the island.

The news of what was taking place caused panic in Athens. The report was actually spread that the enemy had already sailed into the harbor of the Piraeus, and at the latter place it was feared that Salamis had been captured. But with the coming of day the Athenians manned their ships and sailed off to relieve Salamis, while soldiers immediately organized a guard in the Piraeus.

The enemy had now overrun most of Salamis. But hearing that an Athenian fleet had been dispatched thither, and finding their own ships unseaworthy, they speedily sailed away with their captives and plunder, and the three Athenian triremes that they had previously taken.

Thus a golden opportunity had been lost of taking Salamis and probably the Piraeus itself. For Athens now proceeded to guard the Piraeus and close the harbors against any future attack. Pericles died during the winter of this year; but the war was carried on by his successors, for the most part, in accordance with his own principles.⁷

The three years that followed (429-7) were very largely occupied with the siege and final capture of Plataea. This town was valuable to Athens because since 479 it had been an ally and was situated on an important road from Megara to Thebes and northern Greece, whereby an army could be moved from the Peloponnesus over the Isthmus to the north without entering Attica. In this respect Plataea was a potential threat to Athens' safety. But for the same reason it was important to Sparta. Consequently, the town was attacked by Sparta and after a long siege it was captured in 428. Once

⁷ On this subject see West, *Cl. Phil.* XIX, 1924, pp. 124 ff., 201 ff.; A. J. P. XLV, 1924, pp. 141 ff.

again the Megara-Plataea road was open to communication between the Peloponnesus and the north. Meanwhile king Archidamus had invaded Attica in 428 and 427, and Athens had retaliated by devastating Megaris.

During the latter year (427) the Athenians organized an expedition to the coast of Megaris.⁸ Under the leadership of Nicias they sailed to the island Minoa which was now being used as a military station by the Megarians. After a long siege by engines worked from the sea the island was taken. The purpose of this expedition was to give Athens a *φυλακή* nearer than Budorum on Salamis, to prevent raids and blockade-running, and to blockade Megara herself. In the course of his operations Nicias cleared away two towers which seem to have stood on moles running out from the mainland and from Minoa, respectively,⁹ destroyed a bridge which the Athenians seem to have rebuilt after they took possession of the Long Walls in 461, and demolished a wall on the north of the hill. Athens was now able to block Nisaea and thus prevent the Megarians from procuring food by way of the Saronic Gulf. Pagae, the harbor-town on the north, now gave them their only ready access to the sea.

It is probable that in this year the commons rose up against the oligarchs in Megara and overthrew them. For we learn that after Plataea had been destroyed, Thebes gave over the city to some political exiles from Megara along with those Plataeans who belonged to her own party.¹⁰ This can only mean that the Athenian raids were telling upon the spirits of the people; and now that Athens had finally taken Minoa and thus blocked Nisaea, the commons rose up against the party in power and temporarily deposed it. We shall hear more of this again shortly.

But Sparta had now grown weary of the war and was ready

⁸ Thuc. III, 51; Plut. *Nicias*, 6.

⁹ The language of Thucydides is not entirely clear and is discussed by Casson, *B. S. A.* XIX, 1912-13, pp. 70 ff. Cf. above, Ch. I, pp. 21 ff.

¹⁰ Thuc. III, 68.

to consider terms of peace. She asked, however, that Athens surrender the Lacedaemonians who had been imprisoned at Pylus, and that she accept an alliance with Sparta herself. To this the Athenian representatives, instigated by Cleon, proposed that the captives first surrender and come to Athens, and then that Sparta restore to her Nisaea, Pagae, Troezen and Achaea.¹¹ This was clearly an extreme demand, yet the Lacedaemonians were willing to negotiate. Finally, however, they were forced to return without having accomplished their purpose.

Apart from the regular invasions of the Isthmus each year, Athens had now been turning her attention elsewhere. Finally, encouraged and emboldened by the capture of Pylus and Sphacteria by Cleon in 425, Athens planned another special expedition against Megara for the following year.¹² Cleon's party was now in the ascendancy.

In 424 sedition arose in Megara. As we have already observed, the yearly raids by Athens were telling upon the spirits of the populace, who had at length become greatly dissatisfied with their leaders. Furthermore, in the revolution of 427 mentioned above, which had established the democrats in power, the oligarchs had been compelled to flee. Thereupon some of them seized Pagae and threatened the food supply of Megara from the north. It was clearly now a choice between allowing the exiles to return and submitting to Athens. But the democratic party in Megara fully realized that if the oligarchs should be allowed to return its fate was sealed, hence they decided to betray the city and Nisaea to

¹¹ Thuc. IV, 21.

¹² Thuc. IV, 66-74. This passage gives such a detailed and vivid account of the expedition that it is not unlikely that Thucydides accompanied Demosthenes to Nisaea; or at least, he could have gained his information from him. Cf. Grundy, *op. cit.* pp. 26, 28 f. In this respect the account of Nicias' attack on Minoa is similar. Thucydides was on intimate terms with both Nicias and Demosthenes. West, *Cl. Phil.* XIX, 1924, p. 142 and note 6, has some good remarks on their relationship. Thucydides himself was general the following year. See also Diod. XII, 66 f.

Athens. There were, however, difficulties in the way as the Lacedaemonians now held the Long Walls and Nisaea. Hence the Athenians planned to move from two converging directions upon their objective. An army of 4,000 hoplites and 600 cavalry moved overland by way of Eleusis while the fleet proceeded against Minoa. When night came on the fleet, under the leadership of Demosthenes and Hippocrates, crossed to the mainland. The former general was at the head of some Plataean light-armed troops and Athenian patrols, the latter in command of 600 hoplites.

Arrangements had been made with the traitors whereby the Athenians were to be enabled to enter the Long Walls. These traitors were certain fellows who were plying the trade of blockade-runners and had been in the habit of conveying their boat from the city walls down to the water and back again before dawn, all with the permission of the Spartan governor of the city. Consequently, when on the present occasion the boat had been pulled half-way through the gate on its cart, in connivance with the traitors, the Athenians rushed the gates although the Peloponnesian garrison resisted them for awhile, later withdrawing to Nisaea.

The Athenians were now in possession of the lower Walls near the sea, and they planned to take Megara itself. But the treachery was soon detected, and their plan failed. The leaders had urged the people to rush forth and attack the Athenians with the idea that when the gates of the city were opened the Athenians would rush in. But thanks to the oligarchs who remained in the city, the gates were not opened. During the delay which followed while the matter was being debated, the Athenians realized that the conspiracy could not be further carried out and thereupon they turned to the siege of Nisaea. Circumvallation was employed, and the city, destitute of food, was compelled to surrender.

But Megara could not be taken. Brasidas, joined by Corinthian, Boeotian, Sicyonian and Phliasian troops, had hurried from Corinth to relieve the town. His army altogether numbered 6,000 hoplites. But owing to the fears of

the contending factions in Megara he was not admitted into the city. Finally a skirmish took place between the Boeotian and Athenian cavalry on the plain near Nisaea, but neither side won a victory. After waiting in vain for a favorable opportunity to join battle, both Brasidas and the Athenians withdrew, the latter retiring to Nisaea. The gates of Megara were now thrown open to Brasidas and his allies. This was in recognition of the virtual victory that Brasidas had won, who soon dismissed his allies and himself returned to Corinth. The Athenians likewise withdrew. Brasidas afterward, in characteristic fashion, boasted unduly of the heroic part that he had played here.¹³

The democratic, pro-Athenian party was thus defeated, and the expelled oligarchs were permitted to return from Pagae on oath that they would attempt no acts of vengeance for the past. However, those most deeply involved in the plot disappeared.¹⁴ On the other hand, the oligarchs who had been restored to power caused about one hundred of those suspected of being their greatest enemies to be publicly tried, condemned and executed. Thereupon they established a narrow oligarchy, which continued for a considerable period.¹⁵

But the Athenians retained control of Nisaea. Before they had withdrawn they constructed a cross-wall near the sea, thus shutting off Nisaea from the landward side. Here again, however, the topography is still somewhat uncertain, and regarding the details of their work with respect to the direction of the wall we cannot be sure.¹⁶

In the capture of Nisaea Athens had regained at least a part of what she had lost by the terms of the Thirty Years' Peace,

¹³ Thuc. IV, 85, 108.

¹⁴ They probably retired to Athens. See below.

¹⁵ Thuc. IV, 74. Cf. Diod. XII, 67. In 399 B. C. the city was "well governed" according to Plato (*Crato*, 53 B), which implies a form of oligarchy. But Aristotle's statement in *Pol.* V, 1300 a, 17 f., a passage frequently quoted in this connection, can hardly apply to the present case. It better describes the social revolution of 570-60, which was discussed in Ch. VIII above.

¹⁶ See Casson, *l. c.* pp. 74 ff.; Ormerod, *op. cit.* pp. 111 ff.

but thereby she seems to have departed from the principles of Pericles and Nicias regarding acquisitions on land.¹⁷ Nevertheless, since she now held several important points round about the Peloponnesus, it is entirely possible that this move was intended as a blockade of the Peloponnesian coast,¹⁸ and at the same time as an act of reprisal for Megara's attack on the Piraeus in 429, thereby making it impossible for her to attempt such a move again. Since Athens now held Minoa also, it would eliminate any likelihood of Megarian pirate ships preying upon Athenian vessels.

Inspired by her success in capturing Nisaea, Athens now began a campaign in Boeotia which ended disastrously for her in the defeat of Delium. Perhaps, too, the democrats had gained the ascendancy here, just as they had previously done at Megara, and invited the intervention of Athens.¹⁹ But Athens experienced another Coronea, and her hold on Boeotia was greatly weakened. She also attempted to capture Siphæ and Sicyon, but likewise without success.²⁰ During the siege of Delium the Boeotians were aided by Corinthian hoplites, the Peloponnesian garrison that had evacuated Nisaea and some Megarians.²¹ During the winter of this same year the Megarians levelled to the ground the Long Walls that had been held by the Athenians.²²

We now come to the Year's Armistice of 423/2, which was signed by Athens and Sparta.²³ The *status quo* was to be maintained by both sides. Accordingly, Athens was to retain Nisaea and Minoa but was not to cross a line represented by the road leading from the gates of the heroum of Nisus ^{23a} to that of Poseidon, and thence straight to the bridge which leads to Minoa. The Megarians and their allies were to

¹⁷ Thuc. IV, 21. Cf. Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 441 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. Thuc. II, 31; VII, 17; Grundy, *op. cit.* p. 358.

¹⁹ So Bury, *op. cit.* p. 442.

²⁰ Thuc. IV, 76 f.; 89-101.

²¹ Thuc. IV, 100.

²² Thuc. IV, 109.

²³ The terms are given in Thuc. IV, 118 f.

^{23a} See above, Ch. III, note 29.

observe the same boundary line on the side of Megara. Among those who signed the articles of agreement were the Megarian generals Nicasus, son of Cecalus, and Menecrates, son of Amphidorus. Agreements regarding privileges on the sea were also arranged. The truce was observed in all places except Thrace.

The campaign in Thrace resulted disastrously for Athens and Sparta alike. In the battle of Amphipolis Cleon and Brasidas both lost their lives and thereby the two greatest obstacles to peace were finally removed. Consequently, a peace was now agreed upon and signed—the Peace of Nicias.²⁴ Athens agreed to restore all places that she had occupied against Sparta during the course of the war, although she still insisted on keeping Nisaea, to which Megara, of course, strenuously objected. And in this she was followed by Corinth and Boeotia, who likewise objected to certain of their own possessions being held by Athens. Consequently, of the Spartan allies only the Boeotians, Corinthians, Megarians, and Eleans voted against the Peace, which was to continue for fifty years. A pillar containing the terms was set up on the Isthmus and elsewhere.

This brings to a close the Ten Years' War or the Archidamian War, as it was sometimes called. During this entire period Megara had remained in the possession of its own people. The Athenian semi-annual raids had greatly harassed the city, but they had not caused it to yield. It is an example of heroism that is not often met.

The objecting states remained firm in their refusal to become parties to the Peace. As a final consequence, Athens and Sparta formed a defensive alliance which dissolved the Peloponnesian Confederacy. Corinth, strangely enough, allied herself with Argos, the long-standing enemy and rival of Sparta. Megara was left to herself.²⁵

²⁴ See Thuc. V, 16-22.

²⁵ Megara and Boeotia were working in unison at the time, and democratic Argos was less suited to their temperament than oligarchic Sparta (Thuc. V, 31, 38).

Athens herself now joined Argos and her allies, after which an expedition against Epidaurus was undertaken. But when Sparta associated herself with the latter, Athens claimed that the Peace had been broken. This was in 419.

The following summer saw Sparta and her allies actively aiding Epidaurus. Agis was in command of the allied forces, of which the Boeotians, Sicyonians and Megarians formed one division. The Argives were now hemmed in on every side by infantry and cavalry; and seeing their desperate situation they requested a conference with Agis, who thereupon refrained from pushing the battle further, and without consulting his allies, withdrew his army. The allied forces disbanded and returned home, much disgruntled that so favorable an opportunity to conquer the enemy had been lost. These were all picked troops.²⁶

To atone for his failure to accomplish anything in the previous campaign, Agis now led his army again into Argolis, and in the battle of Mantinea won a decisive victory. Both Athenian generals fell. Argos now abandoned Athens and joined Sparta, as did her allies. Athens thus stood alone.

We are not now particularly concerned with the course of events until the beginning of 416.²⁷ In this year an embassy came from the Sicilian city of Segesta requesting Athens' aid against Selinus, Megara's colony. The reason for this request was as follows. Segesta and Selinus had long been quarreling over boundaries and finally, when the contest seemed to favor Selinus, Segesta had asked Acragas and Carthage for help, but all in vain. Then she turned to Athens who, after a preliminary investigation, decided to send the desired aid.²⁸ Nicias, however, was opposed to the undertaking; but Alci-

²⁶ Thuc. V, 58-60.

²⁷ The following events are narrated by Thucydides VI, VII, *passim*, and Diodorus XII, XIII, *passim*. Cf. Reinganum, *Selinus und sein Gebiet*, pp. 101 ff.

²⁸ Athens had made an alliance with Segesta in 454/3 and with Leontini in 433/2. An earlier but unfruitful embassy had been sent by Segesta to Athens in 427.

biades was influential enough to win over the war party at Athens to the project. Nicias finally yielded. Allied with Segesta was Leontini, and with Selinus was Syracuse. The latter cities were very wealthy, and it was the hope at Athens that with the subjection of them the rest of Sicily would be subdued.²⁹ Accordingly, an Athenian fleet sailed for Sicily. But when it had reached Rhegium a council was held regarding future proceedings. Nicias urged a policy of "safety first"; but Alcibiades proposed, first, diplomacy to win over the Sicilian cities, then active measures to punish Selinus and Syracuse; Lamachus was for attacking Syracuse immediately. Alcibiades' plan prevailed, and a few friends were made for Athens in Sicily. Alcibiades was now recalled to Athens to be tried for his supposed part in the mutilation of the Hermae. But he did not return and he was condemned to death, his property was confiscated, and he voluntarily went into exile.

Athens now became so occupied with Syracuse that Selinus was entirely forgotten. Almost immediately after the arrival of the Athenian fleet many cities joined Syracuse. Selinus sent immediate aid. She fought powerfully with her light-armed troops under Gylippus, the Spartan ally of Syracuse, who requested her entire force—a request that was not granted. But a part of this force, delaying along the coast, was surprised and destroyed by the Athenians, who were accompanied by 120 light-armed Megarians. These were exiled democrats³⁰ and probably belonged to the party that had fled from Megara to Athens in 424, in order to escape vengeance for their having plotted to betray the city to the enemy. Gylippus' army was now further augmented by some heavy-armed troops from the Peloponnesus.

During the siege of 414 Syracuse won practically all Sicily to her side. In addition, Sparta, as we have related, joined her and Corinth naturally came to the rescue of her colony. Thebes and Thespieae also sent their aid.

With the year 413 begins the third period of the great war,

²⁹ Thuc. VI, 20; Diod. XIII, 2, 30, 53.

³⁰ Thuc. VI, 43; VII, 57.

after Sparta had established herself at Decelea in Attica. This same year witnessed the sailing of the second Athenian expedition to Sicily, the defeat and retreat of the Athenian forces from Syracuse, and their slaughter on the Assinarus.

There was general ferment in Greece now, and the Spartan allies were anxious to bring the war to a close. Therefore during the winter of 413 Sparta proceeded to build a fleet of 100 ships, to which Megara, Troezen, Epidaurus and Hermione contributed ten. This was in preparation for the spring campaign.³¹

But Athens' allies were now deserting her rapidly. One after another they were revolting, and Sparta was pressing her hard. In the winter of 412 the Lacedaemonians equipped another fleet of 27 vessels for the war in Ionia through the agency of the Megarian Caligitus and the Cyzicene Timagoras.³² To the Syracusan fleet which Miletus supported against Athens, Selinus furnished two ships.³³

The successful outcome of the war against Athens made Selinus, as well as the other Sicilian cities, still more proud, and she proceeded to trespass still further upon Segestan territory. A bitter struggle followed until in 409 a Carthaginian force joined the Segestans and their allies. Selinus was besieged and finally taken after a brave and stubborn defense.³⁴ It is about this time that we hear of two Selinuntine ships, along with those of Syracuse, defending Ephesus against Athens. Their crew was cited for bravery and granted citizenship.³⁵

Meanwhile at Athens had occurred the Revolution of 411 and the short-lived rule of the Four Hundred. There had been popular agitation against the democracy and some oligarchical plotting with Sparta. The extreme oligarchs sent

³¹ Thuc. VIII, 3.

³² Thuc. VIII, 39.

³³ Thuc. VIII, 26. Cf. 33. These were later burned so that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy (Xen. *Hell.* I, 1, 18).

³⁴ See Diodorus XIII, 43 ff.

³⁵ Xen. *Hell.* I, 2, 8-10. Cf. I, 1, 37.

to Sparta to arrange terms of peace. But this commission was unsuccessful, and when it returned and a Peloponnesian fleet was seen in the Saronic Gulf, the people rose up against the oligarchs. Phrynichus, their leader, was slain by foreign assassins.³⁶ Later a Megarian named Apollodorus and Thrasylbulus of Calydon claimed the honor.³⁷ Both were rewarded with state property and Athenian citizenship, although there seems to have been some question regarding the right of Apollodorus to the title. But the Four Hundred were finally deposed, and a new government of oligarchy and democracy mixed was instituted. In the battle of Cynossema the Athenians defeated the Peloponnesian fleet.

During 410 and 409 further important developments took place. Athens annihilated Sparta's fleet in the battle of Cyzicus, and Sparta now offered terms of peace, which were rejected. Democracy was again restored at Athens. The latter also gained complete control of the Bosphorus through the recovery of the Megarian colonies Selymbria,³⁸ Chalcedon³⁹ and Byzantium.⁴⁰ But she also lost Nisaea to Megara and Pylus to Sparta.⁴¹ Diodorus states that Selymbria was taken by treachery, although Plutarch describes its capture

³⁶ Thuc. VIII, 89-92. The assassin is here (92.2) called simply *ἀνδρὸς τῶν περιπόλων τινὸς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς*, and his confederate *Ἀργεῖος ἄνθρωπος*. Lycurgus (c. *Leocr.* 112) calls them simply *Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ Θρασυβούλου*. Plutarch (*Alcib.* 25) erroneously calls Hermon the assassin.

³⁷ Lysias, VII, 4-6; XIII, 71 f. For the decree see Hicks and Hill, *op. cit.* No. 74: spring of 409. But charges of bribery were raised against Apollodorus. See the discussion in Hicks and Hill, *l. c.*; Meyer, *Gesch. des Alt.* IV, p. 597.

³⁸ Xen. *Hell.* I, 3, 10.

³⁹ Xen. *l. c.*; Diod. XIII, 66.

⁴⁰ Xen. *Hell.* I, 2, 14-22; Diod. *l. c.*; Plut. *Alcib.* 31. Byzantium, inspired by the presence of a Lacedaemonian fleet under the Megarian Helixus (Thuc. VIII, 80), had revolted from Athens in the summer of 411. The conditions upon which it was restored to the Athenian alliance are given in an inscription, Hicks and Hill, *op. cit.* No. 77.

⁴¹ Diod. XIII, 65. Cf. Aristoph. *Lys.* 1163-70.

as a brilliant exploit. In the battle for Nisaea, Megara was assisted by her Sicilian and Lacedaemonian allies. It was a bloody conflict and cost many Megarian lives. The Megarians made an effort to hold Byzantium against Athens, and here they were aided by the Peloponnesians and Boeotians. But a treacherous element developed within, and the city was betrayed into the hands of the enemy. Alcibiades had been the Athenian leader during this campaign about the Hellespont.

By the year 406 Athens seemed to be supreme in the eastern Aegean having defeated the Spartan fleet off the islands of Arginusae. Sparta accordingly made an offer of peace, but this was rejected. The following year, however, suddenly reversed the situation when the Lacedaemonians under Lysander defeated the Athenians at Aegospotami, although through treachery, as it was claimed. Out of the spoils here taken from the Athenians Lysander had erected, in honor of Apollo at Delphi, bronze statues of himself and of his generals.⁴² His pilot Hermon was a naturalized Megarian, and his statue was made by Theocosmus,⁴³ greatest of Megarian sculptors and famous pupil of Phidias.

Athens was now starving and readily submitted to Sparta's terms of surrender, which were as follows: Athens was to become the ally of Sparta; the Long Walls and the Piraeus were to be dismantled; her fleet was to be forfeited; all her foreign possessions were to be surrendered; and she herself was to be confined to Attica and Salamis. Corinth and Thebes had even asked for her complete destruction, but this Sparta stoutly refused.

The war was at an end, but its consequences were many, and they were destined to be permanent. It had affected not only Megara herself but her colonies Byzantium, Chalcedon,

⁴² See Hicks and Hill², *op. cit.* No. 79; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, No. 115; Paus. X, 9, 7-31. Cf. Plut. *Lys.* 12, 18. See further Xen. *Hell.* I, 6, 32; Dem. XXIII, 212; Paus. X, 9, 8.

⁴³ Paus. X, 9, 8.

Selymbria, Astacus and Selinus as well. During the first ten years Athens had maintained a close blockade of Megara, and each year until 424 in summer and fall had invaded her territory destroying grain, vines, fig-trees, olive-trees and everything that lay in the path of the army. Consequently, a period of reconstruction was before her such as she had never experienced before. These raids, no doubt, were intended primarily to destroy the barley and wheat. This is indicated by the fact that they were made in the spring and fall. But the vines, fig-trees and olive-trees were likewise cut down.⁴⁴ For if we may accept the statements of the *Acharnians* as generally representative of what had been taking place in Megarian territory, we are given a striking picture of the course of events up to 425. In an imaginary scene when peace has at last come,⁴⁵ the destitute Megarian greets the Athenian market and will offer his two daughters, dressed up as pigs, in exchange for articles he regularly exported before—garlic and salt. He states that grain is dear in his country. But presently a sycophant appears and as usual threatens to inform against him.

The mention of salt in this connection is especially significant. This was a product of the district about Nisaea,⁴⁶ and after the Athenian capture of Minoa in 427 this section of Megara's plain could be closely guarded so that the salt-works would be greatly hindered in their operation. And especially after 424, when Nisaea itself was taken, we can realize how close the blockade must have become.

But no doubt the most serious, permanent loss in the Athenian raids was felt to be the destruction of the olive-trees, which grow and mature very slowly. If we may judge from the character of Sparta's raids of Attica,⁴⁷ it is likely that each

⁴⁴ Vines cut down in Attica: *Acharn.* 183, 232, 512. Cf. *Peace*, 190, 308, 520, 557 f., 575-8, 596-8; fig-trees destroyed: *Peace*, *passim*; olives: *Peace*, 575-8.

⁴⁵ Aristoph. *Acharn.* 729-835.

⁴⁶ See above, Ch. I, p. 6.

⁴⁷ See Thuc. III, 26, 3, for the Spartan raid of 428 (Crawley's translation): "Not content with laying waste whatever had shot up

time the Athenian host destroyed what had been left behind in the previous raids. In the course of time the Megarian plain presented a bare spectacle where once stood rows of splendid trees in the midst of waving grain.

In contrast to the poor Megarian stands the picture of the well-fed Boeotian, his friend and neighbor on the north, who next appears with an abundance of choice articles for sale. In return for these he is offered Attica's staple product—again the ever-present sycophant. But finally an Attic farmer appears upon the scene, who has been weeping his eyes out over the loss of his oxen—likewise the result of the war.

The *Acharnians* represents propaganda in behalf of peace, which at the time seemed possible. But this hope was not realized until 421; and in the *Peace* presented in the spring of that year, Aristophanes renews much of the picture that was given in the former play. The war-weary keeper of vines longs for the goddess to return who nurtured the vines, figs, olives and all things that grow. But alas! as they strain at the rope which is attached to the statue of Peace, the Megarians are of little assistance for they have been too much reduced and weakened by hunger.⁴⁸

in the parts which they had before devastated, the invaders now extended their ravages to lands passed over in their previous incursions." Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 762 f.) makes the Megarian say that the Athenian raids were like the invasions of field-mice, which destroy root and stalk. Zimmern, *op. cit.* pp. 52 ff., has some suggestive remarks on this subject as it applied to Attica, but his interpretation (p. 54, n. 3) of Thucydides' words (*l. c.*) as referring to olive-trees in particular can hardly be pressed. Vines and fig-trees are especially mentioned in the *Acharnians* and *Peace*.

⁴⁸ Aristoph. *Peace*, 481-3. For a sympathetic account of the privations and sufferings that are experienced during such a time see Gildersleeve, "A Southerner in the Peloponnesian War," *op. cit.* pp. 55 ff.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FOURTH CENTURY

The states of Greece generally were now suffering from the economic effects of the Peloponnesian War. There had been great loss of men, destruction of property and a consequent loss of public spirit. Athens and Sparta were never again to be so powerful as they had been. Other states now rise to prominence, and petty quarrels break out among them. With the destruction of Athens' sea power piracy also becomes prevalent again.¹

The political events of this time may be grouped as follows: the period 404-371, covering Sparta's ambitious policy outside the Peloponnesus, and the rise of the Second Athenian Confederacy; the period 371-362, which witnessed the temporary leadership of Thebes; and the period 362-323, the time of the rise, under Philip and Alexander, of Macedon, which was destined to destroy the autonomy of the Greek city-state.

After the close of the Peloponnesian War the Thirty were instituted in power at Athens. All those who held moderate views were suspected, and there followed what has been described as a reign of terror. There were executions, exile and loss of property. Many Athenians fled to Corinth, Thebes and Megara,² all of which states were less favorably disposed toward Sparta because she had refused to allow them to share in the spoils of war. Megara was now a moderate oligarchy since in 399 she is spoken of as "well-governed" by Plato.³

At the same time the Spartan Confederacy was expanded into a more comprehensive Hellenic League when, during the

¹ See Isocrates, *Paneg.* 115; *Trapez.* 35 f.; Ormerod, *Piracy*, pp. 113 ff.

² So Lysias (XII, 17), and many others (Xen. *Hell.* II, 4, 1). Some Syracusan slaves shut up in the Piraeus fled thither (Xen. *Hell.* I, 2, 14).

³ Plato, *Crito* 53 B. So likewise Thebes.

period 405-395, Athens and the Aegean cities previously subject to Athens were incorporated into it.⁴ And among some of her own allies Sparta, under Lysander, established a harmost to act as governor, with a military force and a board of ten citizens of the subject state who were friendly to Sparta.⁵ So at Megara,⁶ which was controlled by Sparta at the end of the Peloponnesian War.⁷

But Sparta was no more fit to rule than Athens had been, and opposition to her led to the revival of Athens and the rise of Thebes, which cities now formed an alliance against her. Later on Corinth and Argos joined them. In July of 394 Sparta met the Confederates in the battle of Corinth, but this was indecisive. Later in the same year they met at Coronea in Boeotia, where the Confederates won a moral victory. Long Walls were now built across Corinthia at the Isthmus to shut out Sparta from the south.

Under the leadership of Conon Athens now began to revive her naval power. And although during 391-89 she suffered a slight relapse, in the latter year her fleet was sent out to re-establish her naval supremacy. In 389 Sparta had occupied Aegina to serve as a base for privateering against Athens.⁸ But by the peace of Antalcidas in 386 Athens lost her chance of establishing an empire although her naval supremacy continued, and the seas were again policed against pirates. This latter activity continued until nearly the close of the century.⁹

The attempted raid of Sphodrias in the spring of 378 made war between Athens and Sparta inevitable; consequently preparations for the conflict were now energetically undertaken by Athens, and an alliance with Thebes was formed. Sparta remodelled her Confederacy into ten divisions of which Corinth and Megara formed one.¹⁰

⁴ See Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism*, pp. 89 f.

⁵ Plutarch, *Lys.* 13.

⁶ Dem. XVIII, 96.

⁷ Since 406 B. C. (Xen. *Hell.* I, 1, 36).

⁸ Xen. *Hell.* V, 1, 2.

⁹ See Ormerod, *l. c.*

¹⁰ Diod. XV, 31.

The years 378-71 thus represent the time of the Second Athenian Confederacy,¹¹ which was again naval. War was now carried on against Sparta until 374. In the battle of Naxos (September, 376) Athens defeated a Lacedaemonian fleet sent out to cut off her grain supply coming from the Pontus. Athens then sent her fleet to circumnavigate the Peloponnesus. But the war proved very costly, and Athens was compelled to make peace with Sparta two years later. According to the terms, the supremacy of Sparta on land was recognized and that of Athens on the sea. In fact, so completely had Sparta's power been crushed that she dared not send a fleet into the Saronic Gulf or an army over the Isthmus.¹² This period was one of internal strife for Megara. We hear of attempts to alter the form of government from democracy to oligarchy, but the people were too powerful to be overthrown. Many nobles lost their lives, and many were driven into exile.¹³

But the peace was broken by Sparta, and the *status belli* again renewed although but for a brief period. For, finally convinced that she had more to fear from Thebes than from Sparta and because the treasury of the Confederacy was now exhausted, Athens decided to conclude peace for a second time, which took place in the summer of 371—the Peace of Callias. A congress was held at Sparta, and terms concluded with which Thebes concurred reluctantly. Thereupon the latter, who throughout had maintained selfish motives, withdrew from the Athenian Confederacy and was left outside the terms of the peace. Athens and Sparta agreed to recognize each other's predominance allowing all other Greek states to decide their own destinies.

The ten years which follow (371-62) reveal a new leader in Greece. Thebes had become supreme in Boeotia and in the

¹¹ See the careful study of Marshall, *The Second Athenian Confederacy*, Cambridge, 1905.

¹² Isocrates, *Antid.* 110; Marshall, *op. cit.* p. 75.

¹³ Diod. XV, 40. This movement was general throughout the Peloponnesus, Megara, Corinth and Sicily.

battle of Leuctra (July, 371) she had decisively defeated Sparta, who had sent an army to attack the city. But Megara now became estranged from Thebes¹⁴ since it was evident that she had designs on Megarian territory¹⁵; and the news of Thebes' victory was not welcome at Athens. For, with the assassination of Jason of Pherae in Thessaly, Thebes was left supreme in the north and she now became an aggressor, invading the Peloponnesus in order to weaken Sparta. Iphicrates, thereupon, was dispatched with an army and occupied Corinth and Cenchreae. But by this time the Thebans had withdrawn from Laconia, and in 369 they returned to their own country.

Athens now formed an alliance with Sparta against Boeotia and Arcadia in the following way. After Sparta's defeat at Leuctra in 371, Athens had invited the Spartan allies of the Peloponnesus to assemble with her in a meeting. Her object was clearly to gain the former Spartan allies to her own Confederacy. All the states except Elis and Sparta herself took the oath and became members.¹⁶ Corinth also joined.¹⁷ Finally in 369 Sparta herself joined. In 367 a congress was likewise held at Delphi relative to the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo, which had been burned. From an inscription¹⁸ we learn that Megara was represented and contributed to the expense of the work.

Athens' attempt to seize Corinth the next year must have done much to alienate friendship,¹⁹ for we find that by the end of this year she had few friends among the other states. Her selfishness had more than once disregarded them in their need. There was now general discontent among her allies.

In 362 the Thebans under Epaminondas defeated Sparta

¹⁴ Isocrates, *Philippus*, 53.

¹⁵ Cf. Polyb. XX, 6, 5-7.

¹⁶ See Marshall, *op. cit.* pp. 79 f.

¹⁷ Xen. *Hell.* VI, 5, 37.

¹⁸ See Dittenberger, *Sylloge**, No. 239 B6, C. 55. The date is 363 B. C. Megara was represented by Andron and contributed 3444 drachmas in the spring, 760 drachmas in the autumn.

¹⁹ Xen. *Hell.* VII, 4, 4 ff.

and Athens at Mantinea in a cavalry battle. But the great Theban leader lost his life here as the result of a wound, and this ended the aggressive policy of Thebes which had invaded the Peloponnesus now for the fourth time. Epaminondas' death also gave Athens new hope.

From 362 to 357 Athens exerted her efforts in establishing her supremacy in the Thracian Chersonesus, and at the end of this period the Athenian Confederacy was at the height of its power. But Maussollus, king of Caria, now stirred up Chios, Cos, Rhodes and Byzantium to revolt from Athens, and by 355 many cities were lost to the Confederacy.²⁰ From 356, also, Philip of Macedon had been advancing upon Athenian territory. But the severest single blow was the revolt of Euboea in 349, which now was definitely lost to Athens. And it is about this time that Philip threatened to march upon Chalcis and Megara from Thrace.²¹ Finally in 346 the Amphipolitan War between Athens and Philip ended with the Peace of Philocrates.

The year 345 was spent by Philip in attempting to destroy Sparta's supremacy in the Peloponnesus, but in this he was only partly successful as Demosthenes had been sent to counteract his agents there. In 343 he planned to seize Megara through local sympathizers.²² An insurgent party headed by Ptoiodorus, Helixus and Perillus plotted to get control of the city through the aid of Philip's troops. But the government learned of the plot and asked Athens for help. Thereupon Phocion led some Athenian hoplites to Megara as a guard of safety and rebuilt the Long Walls to Nisaea, thereby making Megara accessible to Athens by sea. But Philip con-

²⁰ For the condition of Athens at this time see Isocrates, *Peace*, and Xenophon, *On Revenues*.

²¹ Dem. VIII, 18.

²² Dem. X, 8, XVIII, 71, 295; XIX, 87. In XVIII, 295, Demosthenes gives a list of "the traitors" in the various Greek states who plotted to betray their states to Philip. At Megara they were Ptoiodorus, Helixus and Perillus. Cf. *ibid.* 48. For a different version of the situation see Polyb. XVII, 14, and cf. Dem. XIX, 204, 326.

tinued to have designs on Megara, one of the many indications that he had broken the peace of 346, as Demosthenes pointed out.²⁴ Three years later through Athens' agitation, led by Demosthenes, among the Greek states, a kind of anti-Macedonian League was formed.²⁵ For this purpose Megara and the Achaean cities were asked to contribute sixty talents.²⁶

In 338 Athens and Thebes formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Sparta. They were joined by Achaea, Corinth, and Megara, and by some of the islands. The allies gained two small temporary successes against Philip but soon concentrated their forces on the plain of Chaeronea. Here the Athenians, Achaeans and the other allies were probably stationed on the left wing, while the Thebans were on the right. The battle, which was of a "decisive" character, resulted in a complete victory for Philip.²⁷ Thebes was sacked and plundered by the conqueror. But Athens was treated with great forbearance and consideration by Philip and was bound in treaty by him. Megara opened its gates to him.²⁸

In the following year a congress was held at Corinth to which all the Greek states, except Sparta, sent representatives. Philip's plans for his proposed campaign against Persia were announced—a campaign to punish Persia for her acts in the days of Xerxes. A fleet and an army were to be raised, to which each Greek state was asked to make some contribution. The winter of 337 was spent in busy preparation. And to demonstrate the unity of his pan-Hellenic empire, Philip arranged for an elaborate celebration at Aegae, his old capital, to which the Greek states were all invited to send representa-

²⁴ Dem. VIII, 18; IX, 17 f., 27, 74.

²⁵ Dem. XVIII, 237. Earlier in the year Aeschines and his friends had caused Megara, as well as Thebes and Euboea, to feel hostility toward Athens (Dem. *ibid.* 234. Cf. XIX, 334).

²⁶ Aeschines, III, 95. This was in 341.

²⁷ Paus. VII, 6, 5; Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*, p. 128.

²⁸ Aelian, V. H. VI, 1; Cf. Ps.-Plut. *Lives of the Orators*, Dinarchus, IX, 381, Reiske.

tives.²⁹ But this great foreign campaign aroused little enthusiasm among the Greeks, and to hold the league together Philip was compelled to establish three military garrisons, one of them at Corinth. Consequently, when in the summer of 336, on the day he was to celebrate his new marriage, he was assassinated as the result of dissension in his own household, universal joy reigned among the Greek states.

Alexander, who succeeded Philip on the throne of Macedon, at first met with opposition, but soon the Greek states were ready to elect him general of the expedition against Persia. When he came to the throne Greece was in a state of unrest because of the agitation of Demosthenes.³⁰ But Alexander did not violate Greek soil any more than Philip had done. Preliminary campaigns were carried on in Thrace and Illyria to insure settled conditions at home. Later Alexander's troops were quartered in Megara, which granted him citizenship.³¹ Finally he set out for his campaigns in the East which ended with his death at Babylon in 323.

The series of events culminating in the death of Alexander had transformed the Greek states in various ways.³² Athens and Sparta had ceased to occupy a commanding position politically, and the smaller states were left more or less free to work out their own destinies. This is seen particularly in the development of constitutions after Sparta had been defeated at Leuctra in 371.³³ But there was a certain loss of public spirit due to the emergence of the value of the individual because of the speculations of philosophy particularly as popularized by Euripides. The old narrowness, as manifested in the local patriotism of the city-state, was thus disappearing.

²⁹ Diod. XVII, 2.

³⁰ Plut. *Dem.* 17.

³¹ Plut., *De. Mon.*, *Dem. et Arist.* 2.

³² But Hogarth, *op. cit.* pp. 145 ff., well observes that Philip did not so much cause as hasten certain tendencies that were already developing in the old Greek states at the close of the fifth century.

³³ See Whibley, *Greek Oligarchies*, pp. 85 ff.

This is the first century when Megara had played such a subordinate rôle in Greek affairs. And if we should follow Isocrates in his interpretation of the situation, we should be led to ascribe Megara's internal prosperity to her *sophrosyne*. For in the *Peace*, delivered probably in 355 just before the conclusion of the peace that ended the Social War,³⁴ he contrasts the various states in their attitude toward war and peace, and speaks as follows:³⁵ "Why is it that the people of Thessaly, though originally blessed with great wealth and rich, abundant soil, have become poor whereas the Megarians, having small and slender resources at first, with no soil, harbors, or silver mines and tilling mere rocks, now possess the finest houses in Greece? Why is it that others constantly have possession of the powerful cities of the former though they have more than 3000 cavalry and numberless light-armed troops, while the latter possessing but little strength govern their own affairs as they will? Consider, too, that the former people war among themselves while the latter, though living between the Peloponnesians and the Thebans and our own city, continue to dwell in peace. Verily if you think carefully on these things you will find that unrestrained ambition and disregard of others are the cause of ill fortune, while self-restraint is the source of all good."

We must allow of course for the epideictic character of this speech and consider that it was intended as propaganda, yet it tells much regarding the disposition of Megara. She had always been essentially peace-loving, and we can believe that now at last she was realizing, in some measure, the ambition she had always cherished—to be left unmolested that she might work out her own destiny, a privilege that her geographical position had generally denied her.

But Xenophon probably explains the economic basis of

³⁴ Jebb, *Attic Orators*, II, p. 183.

³⁵ Isoc. *Peace* 117-19. On the other hand, Demosthenes calls the Megarians *σεμνοί* (XXIII, 212. Cf. XX, 131), *ἀνελεύθεροι καὶ μικρολόγοι* (LIX, 36), *κατάρηται* (XIII, 32). But later he found their city a convenient place of refuge (Justinus, XIII, 5, 9).

Megara's prosperity when he states³⁶ that at the end of the fifth century most of the Megarians gained their livelihood by the manufacture of those coarse, woollen garments (ἐξωμίδες) which we have already mentioned. The passage also shows that slaves were employed to perform the labor. This industry undoubtedly continued into the present period. In fact, during the fourth century Greece generally maintained a higher standard of living than it had ever done before.³⁷ Very probably the Peloponnesian War had been, in one way, a real blessing to Megara in reducing the population if it was so densely peopled as we have found reason to believe that it was before 431.

We gain some further insight into her internal affairs from the activities of the temple-builders at Delphi during this period.³⁸ The number of representatives varied for each people, and the fluctuation probably reflects the changing political and military movements as well as the economic interest. The first session of the Builders was held in 369, but it is not until 363 that we find a Megarian present.³⁹ Then again in 354/3, 349/8, 346/5, 327/6 she has a single representative.⁴⁰ In 339 the college of Treasurers was instituted, whose duty it was to control the work of the Builders. This shows the influence of Philip. In 338/7, 335/4, 331/0, 329/8 Megara was represented by the same individual.⁴¹ This is indeed a small

³⁶ Xen. *Mem.* II, 7, 6. This refers strictly to 404/3 B. C. as the context shows. The entire passage II, 7, 3 ff. is important for the economic situation.

³⁷ Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 5, after Beloch.

³⁸ On this subject see especially P. Cloché, *B. C. H.* XL, 1916, pp. 78 ff.; XLIV, 1920, pp. 312 ff. Cf. pp. 108 ff. This careful study of the temple-builders shows the relations existing between Macedon, Delphi and the Greek states.

³⁹ See Cloché, *B. C. H.* XL, 1916, pp. 101 f., and cf. Homolle, *B. C. H.* XXII, 1898, p. 628; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 239 B, 1, 6, *Ἀνδρῶν*.

⁴⁰ See *B. C. H.* XX, 1896, pp. 200 ff.; XL, 1916, p. 80; Dittenberger, *Syll.*², I, p. 340, *Tabula naepoeorum*.

⁴¹ The representative was Dieuchidas: *B. C. H.* XLIV, 1920, pp. 326 f.; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², No. 237 II, C, 241 C, 16.

showing for a Dorian state and is comparable only to such districts as Aegina, Epidaurus and Troezen for the same period.

The subordinate rôle played by Megara in public events seems to have allowed her to revive in a certain sense. Now for the first time, so far as we can speak positively on the subject, she struck her own coins. They are the first inscribed local coins and belong to the first half of the century.⁴² A local school of philosophy now becomes prominent at the head of which stands Eucleides, student and follower of Socrates. Stilpo and Terpsion are other famous names.⁴³ One prominent Megarian sculptor is also at work now—Apellas, brother of Theocosmus, whose *floruit* belongs to the early part of this century and the latter part of the fifth.⁴⁴ The great Athenian masters of this period—Scopas, Praxiteles and Lysippus—are also working here.⁴⁵

This is likewise the time when Megarian historical writing begins. Unfortunately most of the authors are but mere names to us since only a few fragments of their work have been preserved.⁴⁶ The title *Μεγαρικά* seems to have been a favorite one for their works, and three prominent writers used it—Dieuchidas, Praxion and Hereas.

We know something of Dieuchidas and Hereas. The for-

⁴² See Head, *op. cit.*² p. 393.

⁴³ Euclides and Terpsion appear in the *Theaetetus* of Plato, *init.*, and it is the former that had recorded Socrates' discourse which is reported therein. Both were among the faithful who were present at Socrates' death (Plato, *Phaedo*, 59 C), and it was no doubt their suggestion that he go into exile at Megara rather than pay the extreme penalty (Plato, *Crito*, 53 B, 99 A). Stilpo comes later (380-300 B. C.) and was the teacher of Menedemus of Eretria.

⁴⁴ See Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen*, p. 182. But this same author (*Gesch. der griech. Plastik*, I, p. 540) apparently does not recognize him as Megarian since he lists as Megarian sculptors only Theocosmus and Callicles. For Apellas' *floruit* see Brunn, *Gesch. Griech. Künstler*, I, p. 287.

⁴⁵ Paus. I, 40, 3; 43, 2-6; 44, 2.

⁴⁶ They have been collected by Müller, *F. H. G.* IV, and studied by M. Vogt, *Jahrb. für Cl. Phil. Supplbd.* 27, 1902, pp. 737 ff. Cf. G. Vogt, *op. cit.* p. 1.

mer wrote his history in not less than five books, beginning the account with the story of Deucalion's flood taken from Hellanicus. Nearly all the fragments show him to have been a mythographer and genealogist. That he was a staid Dorian is also clear. It is evident, likewise, that he attempted to write a patriotic history of his city defending it in its various claims as against Athens. He differed with other writers in his version of some of the early accounts that concerned both Attica and Megaris, but his chief title to fame seems to rest upon his insistence that Pisistratus had interpolated *Iliad* II, 558 in the interest of Athens, a subject which we have already discussed.

That Dieuchidas belongs to the fourth century was first pointed out by Wilamowitz, who placed his *floruit*, on historical and literary grounds, before 300 B. C.⁴⁷ But in two inscriptions⁴⁸ a Dieuchidas, son of Praxion, is named as temple-builder at Delphi for the years 338-29. This, as Dittenberger remarks, seems to confirm Wilamowitz's theory. We can thus place his *floruit* not later than 338, which would make him a contemporary of Aristotle and Demosthenes. Very probably the former used Dieuchidas' history in writing his "Constitution of the Megarians."⁴⁹ His work may have had something to do in arousing the ire of Demosthenes against Megara, and was probably much used by later writers, if we may judge by the statements of Pausanias.⁵⁰

Hereas, probably identical with Heragoras, may belong to the time of Alexander.⁵¹ His history possessed a political character and was notably hostile to Athens. He likewise claimed that Pisistratus had deleted a line from Hesiod and

⁴⁷ Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters*, pp. 240 ff.; *Arist. und Athen*, II, p. 21.

⁴⁸ See above, note 41.

⁴⁹ Strabo (VII, 322) speaks of a *πολιτεία Μεγαρέων* by Aristotle.

⁵⁰ Pausanias (II, 19, 8; IX, 19, 2) calls his own account of Megara (I, 39-44) a *Μεγαρική συγγραφή*, and the statements he makes regarding the local myths frequently recall similar versions by Dieuchidas. Cf. above, Ch. I.

⁵¹ See Wilamowitz, *Hom. Unters*, pp. 259 f., and n. 22.

added a line to Homer. He disagreed with other writers concerning Megarian burial customs especially as they applied to the respective claims of Megara and Athens to Salamis.

These Megarian writers, who differed from the usual accounts in matters touching the history of their city, "warring with all antiquity," as Simonides is reported to have said,⁵² were clearly attempting to restore some of Megara's past glory. This is seen particularly in their version of the Salamis question, which seems to have emerged to great prominence at this time. But Megara's greatness as a political factor was past, and no amount of patriotic fervor could recall it.

⁵² Plutarch, *Thes.* 10.

CHAPTER XV

MEGARA DURING HELLENISTIC TIMES

For the general historical movements of this period I have usually followed Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911, covering the period 323-86 B. C., and Tarn, *Antigonus Gonatas*, Oxford, 1913, covering the history of Macedon and Greece through the years 294-240. The articles by Johnson, *Cl. Phil.* IX, 1914, pp. 253 ff.; *A. J. P.* XXXIX, 1918, pp. 145 ff.; XL, 1919, pp. 236 ff., and Tarn, *J. H. S.* XL, 1920, pp. 143 ff., discuss some difficult problems of Delphian chronology. See also Tod, *J. H. S.* XLV, 1925, p. 116. Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, pp. 138 ff., deals with events from 207 B. C. onward. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, and Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, give most of the literary sources. For inscriptions see *I. G.* VII, 1 ff., and the additions of Graindor, *Rev. Arch.* VI, 1917, pp. 31 ff. There are good chapters of a general nature in *The Hellenistic Age* by Bury, Barber, Bevan and Tarn, Cambridge, 1923.

The sources for the third century are scanty, and are discussed by Ferguson, *op. cit.*, App. I, and by Tarn, *op. cit.* App. I. Valuable, first-hand material must have been abundant at one time, and its disappearance has been variously accounted for.

After Alexander's death the Greeks revolted but were defeated by Antipater in 322, and each state was compelled to make terms separately with the conqueror, who now was regarded by them generally as a tyrant. But a son had been born to queen Roxane soon after Alexander's death who was also named Alexander and who ruled under the regency of Perdiccas. Through the action of the army, however, the kingship was actually divided between the child Alexander and an illegitimate and half-witted son of Philip II. At the same time Antipater, Philip's minister, became governor of Macedonia and those parts of Greece subject to it; and Craterus, favorite general of Alexander, was made "Protector of the kingdom of Philip." In this way the stage was set for contending rivalries which soon made their appearance.

In 321, through the death of Craterus and the murder of

Perdiccas, Antipater became regent. In the following year Megara was besieged by Antipater but defended itself well.¹ In 319 Antipater died, and as the result of various events in 316 Antigonos Monophthalmus, satrap of Phrygia, became the head of Alexander's veterans—which made him the strongest of all the king's successors. But from 317 to 307 Cassander held Athens and Megara through the influence of the oligarchs in those cities.

The struggles between the Successors from this point do not concern us here until 307, when Antigonos' son, Demetrius Poliorcetes, drove Cassander out of Athens and Megara much to the joy of the democratic elements there. Megara was given over to his soldiers to plunder, but its liberty was restored again. Demetrius was in turn rewarded handsomely by those whom he had thus benefited.² In this connection Plutarch tells one of his characteristic anecdotes.³ As Demetrius' troops were on the point of plundering the city the Athenians prevailed upon the general to spare it. "While he was doing this he remembered Stilpon the philosopher, who is reputed to have chosen for himself a life of retirement and study. Demetrius sent for him and inquired whether anything had been stolen from him. 'Nothing,' replied Stilpon, 'I saw no one taking any knowledge away.' As, however, all the slaves were stolen, after Demetrius had talked graciously to Stilpon and at length dismissed him with the words, 'My Stilpon, I leave you a free city'; 'Quite true,' replied Stilpon, 'for you have not left us a single slave.'"

¹ Aelian, *De. Anim.* XVI, 36.

² Diod. XX, 46; Plut. *Demet.* 9. An IS. of the year 306 (*I. G.* VII, 1 = Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 331) decrees citizenship and a golden crown to the Boeotian Zoilus, son of Celaenus, who was in command of Demetrius' troops, because he had maintained good order in Aegosthena, where the troops were stationed. Others were similarly honored with public decrees because while in the service of Demetrius they had shown kindness to Megara. See *I. G.* VII, 1-14 and *B. S. A.* XIX, 1912/13, pp. 82 ff. Altogether these decrees cover a period of eight years.

³ Plut. *l. c.* Stewart and Long's translation.

In 304 Cassander laid siege to Athens. The next year Demetrius, who had returned from his siege of Rhodes, drove out Cassander and finally conquered central Greece, Boeotia and a large part of the Peloponnesus. He also revived the League of Corinth and was thereupon elected general by the Greek states assembled on the Isthmus for the purpose of carrying on the war against Cassander.

The scene of the conflict between the Successors was now shifted to Asia Minor, but in 301 after the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, Demetrius again returned to Athens, where he had left his wife Deidamia, his treasure and his ships. But, sending Deidamia for safety to Megara, the Athenians closed the city gates against Demetrius.⁴ He also lost central Greece although Corinth was saved by his troops. He now left Pyrrhus of Epirus in charge of Greece and sailed away to attack Lysimachus in Thrace. But in 295 he returned and laid siege to Athens, which was now controlled by a representative of his enemy and rival Cassander. He took the city after starving it into surrender and soon became undisputed king of Macedon.

After the establishment of Demetrius in 293 on the southern coast of Thessaly at the head of the Pagasean Gulf, and the seizure of Chalcis and Corinth, the Isthmus as a thoroughfare to the south became merely incidental. On only a few occasions do we find the mention of a foreign invader moving over Megara's territory, for these three ports gave the Antigonid kings their hold on Greece.⁵ They were content, for the most part, to remain north of central Greece. Megara thus more and more retreated from the main currents of political events. But this does not imply that she was impoverished and unenterprising to any greater extent than were the other Greek states of the mainland. Furthermore, Athens continued to be so all-absorbing to the world universally that lesser centers seemed to pale to insignificance.⁶

⁴ Plut. *Demet.* 30.

⁵ Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 39.

⁶ Cf. Ferguson, *op. cit.* p. 359.

By 289 Demetrius had subdued all his enemies. Most of the Peloponnesian states, except Sparta, and those of central Greece belonged to his empire. All told he could command an army of 60,000 to 70,000 men excluding mercenaries.⁷ He had been worshipped as a god in Athens and elsewhere among the Greeks, and it appears that he had planned to regain his father's kingdom in Asia and perhaps to win a universal kingdom. So in 289 he began preparations with that end in view. At Corinth and Athens, as elsewhere, ships were being built for him.

But in the following year Demetrius' enemies began to attack him from three points. He himself undertook to protect Macedonia leaving his son Antigonus Gonatas in Greece. The nationalist party revolted in Athens declaring the city independent. But Demetrius had been defeated in the north and he now returned to Greece with a powerful army. Athens, however, was spared and he soon set sail for Asia Minor. Antigonus was left behind as governor of Greece.

Pyrrhus of Epirus now attacked Antigonus' garrisons; and Antigonus had but few mercenary troops to hold the Greek towns, but it is likely that he taxed the Greek cities to pay these except Athens, which was now independent.⁸

In 285, at the instigation of Pyrrhus, Antigonus formed a treaty of alliance with the latter against Lysimachus, the terms of which we do not know. But in the same year Lysimachus forced Pyrrhus to lose Macedon, thereby making himself the strongest of the three kings. Consequently, Antigonus soon found his power in Greece diminished. Lysimachus was also now the friend of Athens, to which Antigonus soon laid siege. His operations, however, were temporarily interrupted in 283 by the death of his father, who was brought home for burial in the city called after himself—Demetrias. Only two of Alexander's Successors were now left—Seleucus and Ptolemy. Antigonus now laid siege to the

⁷ Plut. *Demet.* 39; Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 70.

⁸ Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 113, note.

Piraeus and finally Athens, exhausted by hunger, surrendered, probably in 282/1.⁹

In 281 Ptolemy and Lysimachus met in battle, and the latter fell. This was welcome news to the Celts on the north who were waiting for an opportunity to break through the defensive lines. And the next year Ptolemy slew Seleucus in battle as the latter was moving to occupy the throne of Macedonia. Antigonus now equipped a fleet with which to attack Ptolemy but was ingloriously defeated. This news was welcomed in Greece, which now rose up in general revolt.¹⁰ Antigonus, however, still held Corinth, the Piraeus, Euboea and eastern Achaea. Hereupon Sparta again organized a Confederacy as she had done before. But Megara possibly remained independent although we cannot be certain of her status in this regard.¹¹

The year 279 was critical in the affairs of Greece. For it was during this year that three bands of Celts, driven on by the necessity of seeking new homes, swept down from the north. They had been checked by Rome in 283 and 282 from entering Italy, so now they turned eastward. Macedonia and Thrace at the time found their defenders elsewhere, hence the invaders could move southward with little opposition. But hurriedly and without waiting for his forces to assemble, Ptolemy rashly gave battle. His army was cut to pieces, and he himself was slain. This caused panic in Macedonia, and the Celts without much opposition continued their march toward Greece. Tradition claimed that their host numbered 160,000, but this figure has been questioned.¹²

⁹ Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 127, note.

¹⁰ Justinus, XXIV, 1, says: omnes ferme Graeciae civitates.

¹¹ Since Megara sent troops against the Gauls the following year (279) Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 132, n. 44, has concluded that she likewise joined the revolt. But if Athens was not independent it is not likely that Megara was, and Johnson, *A. J. P.* XXXIX, 1918, pp. 149 ff., and *Cl. Phil.* IX, 1914, pp. 253 ff., esp. p. 269, has argued that Athens was subject to Antigonus from 279 to 268. On the other hand, see Tarn, *J. H. S.* XL, 1920, pp. 143 ff.

¹² See Paus. X, 19, 9. Tarn, *Antig. Gon.* p. 148, n. 42, would divide the number by five.

At Thermopylae they were halted by a Greek force which had gathered to oppose them. The Greeks numbered over 27,000 foot soldiers and 1500 horsemen, to which company Megara contributed 400 of the former and a few of the latter.¹³

The pass of Thermopylae was held by the Greeks for awhile but was finally turned by the Gauls under Brennus, who then continued the march southward. The Aetolians had temporarily checked one division of the Celts, but this too was soon pressing on toward the pass while the other division under Brennus was now moving rapidly toward Delphi. This sacred spot was being defended by Aetolians, Locrians and Phocians. But the Gauls were finally repulsed and driven back in retreat to the north. In this crisis the Aetolians were generally considered to have been the saviors of Greece, and suitable memorials were erected in the temple of Apollo.¹⁴ In 277 the Aetolians established the Soteria, a quadrennial musical and gymnastic contest, to commemorate the great event, and in 275 they sent ambassadors to invite all the Greek states to help celebrate it in the following year.¹⁵ But Megara had no representatives there until 268 and sporadically after that year.¹⁶ The significance of this repulse of the

¹³ Paus. X, 20, 3-5. See in general Paus. X, 19-23; Justinus XXIV, 4-8; Diod. XXII, 3-4; Ferguson, *op. cit.* pp. 157 ff. According to Beloch, *Klio*, VI, 1906, p. 55, the small number of 400 men suggests that Megara was economically much reduced. Cf. below, p. 215. Even in the preceding century Lysander had spoken contemptuously of Megara's army (Plut. *Lacon. Apoth.* VI, p. 798, Reiske).

¹⁴ See especially Tarn, *op. cit.* pp. 139 ff. and App. VI; Frazer on Paus. X, 20, 3-5.

¹⁵ See *I. G.* II, 323. But according to Capps, *T. A. P. A.* XXXI, 1900, p. 137, the Soteria were first celebrated in 276. The programs here from year to year were more constant, and the performers more numerous than at Delos. The guild of artists did not depend upon the local community as at Delos (*Capps. l. c.* p. 125).

For the various possible dates of the first celebration of the Soteria see Johnson, *Cl. Phil.* IX, 1914, pp. 253 ff.; Tarn, *J. H. S.* XL, 1920, pp. 143 ff.; and Tod, *J. H. S.* XLV, 1925, p. 116.

¹⁶ Three Megarians are mentioned for the year 268: Damon, a

Gauls is readily seen from the comparison of it, by the Greek writers, to the Persian War. Delphi thus came for a while under the domination of Aetolia.¹⁷

But Antigonus had contributed only a small force to the defense of Thermopylae. However, in 278 he did win a signal victory on his own account over another band of Celts and was therefore regarded as likewise a savior of Greece.

Antigonus now made himself master of Macedonia. Corinth and Athens were the only Greek cities in his empire that were allowed to strike their own coins.¹⁸ In order to keep a proper watch on his kingdom, Antigonus was often found at Athens, and he was often threatened by invaders on the north. But he aimed to be merely king of Macedon and was concerned with Greece only secondarily, in so far as it might affect his power in his chosen realm.¹⁹ He now held Corinth, as well as Chalcis in Euboea, as a fortified position. This insured his communication with the sea. But in order to control Athens²⁰ he also held the Piraeus. Megara was now independent.²¹ He was little concerned with the Peloponnesus although Sparta was a potential enemy. Egypt now controlled the sea.

In 273 Antigonus was defeated by Pyrrhus when the latter invaded Macedonia. The Greek states reacted to this defeat by overthrowing the pro-Macedonian party in Athens, which

τραγωιδός; Menecrates, a διδάσκαλος; and Dionysodorus, a comic χορευτής. See Dittenberger, *Syll.*³ 424; Capps, *l. c.* p. 124. In 234 there seems to have been a renewal of the Soteria after they had been interrupted by the wars of Demetrius. In this year we have mention of a Megarian cithara-player, Diphilus, son of Phrastor. See Dittenburger, *Syll.*³ 489; Pomtow, *Klio*, XIV, 1914, p. 295, no. 17. The Soteria were to be held quadrennially originally but later were held oftener. See Johnson, *l. c.* p. 159.

¹⁷ Cf. Johnson, *l. c.* pp. 145 ff.

¹⁸ Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 197.

¹⁹ Tarn, *op. cit.* pp. 203 f.

²⁰ Because of its being a center of culture. He frequently visited it (Diog. Laert. VII, 6). The Macedonian kings were much interested in culture.

²¹ But see above, note 11.

now sent a representative to the Amphictyonic Council. Antigonus also lost Euboea. But in the Peloponnesus the two armies met again, Pyrrhus was slain, and Antigonus returned victor. Antigonus now seems to have encouraged or allowed the establishment of tyrannies in certain of the Greek cities in order to insure his power. But Megara was not touched until a little later, perhaps in 270, when he occupied the city.²² He seemed now, as formerly, chiefly concerned with Corinth, the Piraeus and Chalcis, stations which gave him access to the sea and the opportunity of dealing with Egypt.

By 266 Sparta had succeeded in winning a good many allies to her revived Peloponnesian Confederacy, although Megara's name does not appear among the number. In this year Athens formed an alliance with Ptolemy of Egypt, and the ecclesia passed a decree in which the other Greek states were urged to do the same. The motive was war upon Antigonus, who was generally regarded as a tyrant by the Greeks. In this same year Antigonus invaded the Isthmus, laid siege to Megara, and took it.²³ It seems likely that he held Aegosthena also at this time.²⁴ The next spring he invaded Attica. This occupation of Megara (and Corinth) as usual prevented the passage of an army from the Peloponnesus into central Greece; and when the Piraeus had been garrisoned, approach to Athens by sea was likewise made impossible.

In the winter of 265 the Celts stationed in Megara under Antigonus revolted but were speedily subdued by him. There was wholesale slaughter of men, women and children.²⁵ Craterus, Antigonus' half-brother, was governor here as at Corinth and Chalcis. In the spring of 264 Antigonus met the Spartan allies in a battle near Corinth and defeated them. Sparta was now greatly weakened, and her Confederacy broken up. This ended the Chremonidean War, which had lasted since 266.

²² Polyaeus, IV, 6, 3; Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 286, n. 29.

²³ Aelian, *De Anim.* XI, 14.

²⁴ Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 299.

²⁵ Justinus, XXVI, 2; Ferguson, *op. cit.* p. 179.

In the winter of 262/1, Athens finally succumbed after a long siege and again fell into Antigonus' hands. This ended the city's political influence. It now became a dependency of Macedonia and remained such for about thirty years, during which time it was thoroughly reorganized. Megara was destined to remain in the power of Macedon until 242, when Aratus united it to the Achaean League.

We may therefore pass over the events of the intervening years until we come to 245, when Aratus was first made general of the Achaean League. This League was originally organized to resist Macedonia, but Aratus' main purpose was to free the Peloponnesus of tyrants.²⁶ In 243 Aratus, by an unexpected attack gained possession of Corinth. Thereupon Megara, as well as many other cities, revolted from Antigonus.²⁷ But the latter immediately formed an alliance with the Aetolians to the effect that together they should conquer and divide Achaea. Consequently, in 241 the Aetolians threatened to invade the Peloponnesus through Megara's territory in order to meet the armies of Aratus and his Spartan ally, king Agis. The Achaeans as well as Agis were anxious to meet the enemy on the borders of Megaris. But Aratus retreated allowing them to ravage Achaea, take and sack Pelene, and pass over Mt. Gerania into the Peloponnesus. Then he suddenly fell upon them and crushed them.²⁸ In the winter of 241/0 peace was declared between the warring factions, a peace that was general throughout Greece. During the fol-

²⁶ Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 361.

²⁷ Polyb. II, 43, 5; Plut. *Arat.* 24; Strabo, VIII, 385. For the dating of Aratus' generalship see Johnson, *l. c.* p. 154. From the time of the reorganization of the League in 280 for about 130 years its coinage formed the standard currency of the Peloponnesus. As each town was admitted to the League, it agreed to adopt a uniform coinage in silver and bronze, since identity of laws, weights, measures and coinage was imposed upon each member by the central authorities (Polyb. II, 37). There were about 43 such towns. Megara's coins show the symbol of the lyre and are inscribed 'Αχαίων Μεγαρέων. See Head, *op. cit.* pp. 416 f.

²⁸ Plut. *Arat.* 31 f.; Agis, 13-15.

lowing year Antigonos died and was succeeded by his son Antigonos Doson. The peace of the year 239/8 opened Athens to the Megarians; and Teles, the epitomator and successor of the philosopher Bion, who had previously been writing in Megara, now withdraw to Athens.²⁹

War between the Achaean League and the Macedonians continued. Aratus renewed a previous attack upon the Piraeus, but in a pitched battle fought probably in 235 he was defeated by the Macedonian general Bithys south of Thermopylae. He was now content to plunder Attica merely, which he did from time to time, destroying the crops frequently. Many Athenian exiles fled to Megara at this time.³⁰ All the while pirates were harrassing the coasts of the Saronic Gulf.³¹

Sometime in the period 243-223, while Corinth was a member of the Achaean League, Megarians were chosen as arbiters to decide a boundary dispute between Corinth and Epidaurus. Megara sent 151 representatives about equally divided between the three local tribes of the Hylleis, Pamphyli, and Dymanes, who decided the matter in favor of Epidaurus. Thereupon Corinth appealed from the decision and again Megara sent arbiters, on this occasion 31.³² It is about this

²⁹ Ferguson, *op. cit.* p. 202, n. 2.

³⁰ See Hense, *Teletis Reliquiae*², p. 29; Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karistos*, p. 301; Ferguson, *op. cit.* p. 204.

³¹ See Ormerod, *op. cit.* pp. 141 ff.

³² See Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 471; Michel, *Recueil*, 20; Dareste, Haussoullier et Reinach, *Recueil des Inscriptions Juridiques Grecques*, pp. 342 ff.; Sonne, *De arbitris externis*, pp. 30-32; Tod, *International Arbitration Amongst the Greeks*, pp. 14, 103. This second body of 31 is to be regarded as a special committee of the original 151 for purposes of economy and convenience. It was chosen on the same basis (Tod, *op. cit.* p. 103).

Another decree, in an inscription found at Pagae, refers to a dispute between Pagae and some neighboring state (Megara or Aegosthena?), but the reading is too much damaged to decide what other state was involved. See *I. G. VII*, 189; Tod, *op. cit.* p. 15. The time is the third century B. C. See also Tod, *op. cit.* p. 16, No. XX:

same time that we hear again of Megarian temple-builders active at Delphi. A board of 36 is mentioned, several names of which appear to be those of the arbiters mentioned in the Epidaurus inscription.³³

In 223 Megara deserted the Achaean League and joined the Boeotian Confederacy.³⁴ Indeed, the real motive for her joining the League at all was to oppose Macedonia in its attempt to counterpoise certain districts against Sparta.³⁵ The League had pretended to unify the Peloponnesus, but this it never did. Various cities had joined Aratus, however, because at the time he was the strongest ruler in the north. But Aratus died in 214/13. His death, along with the changing policy of Philip V of Macedon toward Greece, had produced an unsettled condition of affairs. In 212 Rome began war in Greece against Macedon, and in 207 Philip, who had marched through Megara against the Aetolians and Romans, had it in his possession several times.³⁶ Along with Corinth and Euboea, which had also joined the Boeotian Confederacy, Megara fought on the side of Philip, finally returning to the Achaean League in 192.³⁷ This latter move natur-

a decree of Acraephia in honor of Megara and three Megarian *δικασταί* and their secretary. The time is about 150 B. C.

Such reference of a dispute to a state for arbitration implies that the state was possessed of considerable standing in the Greek world, for much earlier than this period even Athens had appealed to Megara to settle her own internal disputes. (Plutarch, *Lacon. Apoth.* VI, pp. 806 f., Reiske). Cf. Tod, *op. cit.* p. 96.

³³ See *I. G.* VII, 42. Cf. *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* III, 1887, pp. 10 ff.

³⁴ Polyb. XX, 6 ff.; Plut. *Arat.* 40 f.; *Cleom.* 19. Aegosthena also joined. This was strictly the Confederacy of Onchestus, and the Boeotian archon was eponymous for the Confederacy. The usual form was *Ἀρχων Βοιωτοῖς*, with the variant form, at Megara and Aegosthena, of *Ἀρχων ἐν Ὀρχηστῷ*. See *I. G.* VII, 27, 28, 209-12, 214-22, and cf. Foucart, *B. C. H.* IV, 1880, p. 83.

³⁵ These districts, in addition to Megara herself, were Achaea, Megalopolis and parts of Arcadia, Argos and the Argolid, Corinth. See Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 407. In spite of Aratus' efforts, Athens never joined.

³⁶ Livy, XXVIII, 7.

³⁷ Polyb. XX, 6, 7.

ally angered the Boeotians, and they attacked the city with their entire army, planning to lay siege to it. But when the report spread that Philopoemen was coming at the head of the Achaean army, the Boeotians gave up the siege forthwith and returned to their own territory.³⁸

From 192 until 147 Megara remained with the League.³⁹ After Rome had crushed Persius in 168 Athens was the only Greek city friendly toward her.⁴⁰ The quarrel between Athens and the Achaean League, which was finally referred to Rome, was brought to a head in 157. It was in this year that the famous company of philosophers—Carneades, Diogenes and Critolaus—was dispatched to Rome to bring about a remission of the heavy fine imposed upon Athens in the affair of Oropus. This commission was partially successful, but the Achaean League later gave judgment favorable to Oropus. This was the direct cause of the war between the League and Rome according to Pausanias.⁴¹ At any rate, Rome dissolved the League putting the individual members composing it under the supervision of the proconsul in Macedonia. Corinth was burned in 146. In the previous year the general Metellus had taken Megara easily and placed 4,000 Achaeans there to garrison it.⁴² Megara's hostility toward the Roman conqueror is indicated by the fact that when the lives of the Roman ambassadors of Metellus were threatened in Corinth in 146, they retired to Athens.⁴³ Rome reciprocated the feeling. After 146 Megara came under Roman influence and in the next century was organized as a part of the Roman province of Achaea. But this begins another chapter, and we cannot pursue it now.

³⁸ Polyb. XX, 6, 10-12; Plut. *Philopoemen*, 12.

³⁹ The Second Boeotian Confederacy was organized and continued 196-171 B. C. But the names of Megara and Aegosthena are notably absent. See Holleaux, *B. C. H.* XIII, 1889, p. 17.

⁴⁰ Ferguson, *op. cit.* p. 314, note, on the inference from Livy, XLV, 10.

⁴¹ Paus. VII, 12 ff.; Ferguson, *op. cit.* p. 328.

⁴² Paus. VII, 15.

⁴³ Polyb. XXXVIII, 13, 9.

We have traced the changing political fortunes of Megara from the beginning of the rivalry between Alexander's successors to the appearance of the Roman conqueror, a period of nearly two centuries. Of this period the third century is the most conspicuous and notable in countless ways. It has appropriately been called a "modern" period.⁴⁴ For it was a time characterized by the rise of physical science, learning, new and original social enterprises, a brief trial of representative government, federalism, cosmopolitanism, realism in art and literature. The Homeric question now emerged into full view. It was the time when literary biography first began. It was the century of Eratosthenes, the great genealogist; and very probably the list of mythical kings at Megara was now brought to completion.

As a result of Alexander's conquests the world was opening up as it had never done before. Belief in the worth of the individual now emerged. Many of the greatest men of the century were Asiatics. Many Greeks migrated with their wives and families to foreign lands such as Egypt, as we see from the papyri.

The Macedonian kings did much to encourage culture. And the chief importance of Antigonos Gonatas and his successors is seen in the fact that from 277 to 168 they protected Greece from threatened invasions from the north in a way that Rome was hardly able to do later.⁴⁵

Owing to the great dearth of original sources, we catch only a few glimpses of the cultural life of the times. That Megarians took considerable part in the Dionysiac guild performances at Delos is indicated by the inscriptions.⁴⁶ It seems probable that such guilds sent out those of its members

⁴⁴ Tarn, *op. cit.* pp. 1 ff. Cf. also Ferguson, *op. cit.* pp. 212 ff.

⁴⁵ Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 202, quoting Polybius and Livy.

⁴⁶ See Capps, *T. A. P. A.* XXXI, 1900, pp. 113-124, and literature there cited. During the years 286, 284, 281, 270, 265, 261, 173 (probably), 175-171 we find Megarians taking part as τραγωδοί, κωμωδοί or αἰληταί. Cf. *I. G.* XI, 2, 105-133. For τὸ παλαιὸν Βακχεῖον at Megara see Poland, *Geschichte des griech. Vereinswesens*, pp. 68, 172, 197, 437, 553.

who were citizens of the place; if so, we see that Megarians were taking up residence at Delos from time to time.⁴⁷

Sculpture is now being done by Athenians. Thus we have mention of Cephisodotus and Timarchus, sons of Praxiteles, whose *floruit* comes about 296⁴⁸; and in the next century of Eucheir, who belonged to a distinguished family of sculptors and whose *floruit* is about 150 B. C.⁴⁹

Of the work of the vase-makers we cannot speak with much certainty. The "Megarian Bowls" are a product of Hellenistic times; but the name "Megarian" seems to be more or less of an accident as it was given to them simply because several were first found at Megara. They are widely distributed, and the texture of their red clay is similar to that found at Athens and elsewhere.⁵⁰ Other Hellenistic vases are now represented by many sherds found at Nisaea and Minoa.⁵¹

Megarians took part in various athletic events abroad.⁵² *Orgeones* also existed here although we know nothing of their date.⁵³

We can say but little regarding the social and economic condition of the city. After Alexander's campaigns in the east there was a great influx of gold into Greece, and the price of all commodities was affected.⁵⁴ Toward the end of the third century prices at Athens began to rise due to the policy

⁴⁷ For the political status of the island at this time see Tarn, *J. H. S.* XLIV, 1924, pp. 141 ff.

⁴⁸ *I. G.* VII, 54 = Löwy, *Ins. Gr. Bildh.* 110; *Jb.* XXXVIII, pp. 242 ff.

⁴⁹ See *I. G.* VII, 58 = Löwy, *op. cit.* 222; Ferguson, *op. cit.* p. 342.

⁵⁰ See E. Pottier, Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. s. v. Vasa*, V, pp. 660 f.; Courby, *Les Vases Grecs à reliefs*, 1922, pp. 358-60.

⁵¹ See *Ath. Mitt.* XXIX, 1904, pp. 79 ff.

⁵² See *I. G.* VII, 48, for the names of those who had won in the boxing-match and the pancratium at Thebes, Thespieae, Corinth, etc.

⁵³ See *I. G.* VII, 33. Four men are named as ὀργεῶ[ν]ες [τ]ῶν [θεῶν]. Cf. Poland, *op. cit.* pp. 15, 524 f., who considers this institution as due to Athens' influence (*ibid.* pp. 174 and note, 340).

⁵⁴ Cf. Frank, *An Economic History of Rome*², p. 74.

of Demetrius of Phalerum.⁵⁵ But according to Polybius⁵⁶ the states of Greece generally, during the early part of the second century, were suffering decline and depopulation which he attributes to the self-indulgence of the people. We have already observed⁵⁷ that Megara seems to have been economically much reduced in the early part of the third century. And Beloch has found evidence to support his belief that the same is true at the end of the century.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Ferguson, *op. cit.* p. 65.

⁵⁶ Polyb. XXXVI, 17; Ferguson, *op. cit.* p. 373. Ferguson, *op. cit.* pp. 373 ff., contrasts the prosperous condition of Athens and Attica at this time, which was due largely to its control of the commercial activities of Delos. The island had now been made a cleruchy. Thus Athens enjoyed a renaissance during the second century B. C.

⁵⁷ See above, note 13.

⁵⁸ According to Beloch's reckoning (*Bevölkerung*, p. 42; *Klio*, VI, p. 55) Megara now had only about 880 men over 18 years of age, and only 550 fit for military service between 20-50 years of age.

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